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whom 5 are in favour. For Burma the opinions of 16 Municipalities are given, of whom 9 are in favour. The letter of the Bombay Government mentions no local body, but the opinion of the Bombay Corporation was circulated among the members here only two days ago. However, in the report of the Commissioner of the Central Division which accompanies the letter, there is mention made of 6 Municipalities in that division, all in favour. And we know for a fact that most of the Municipalities and a great many of the District Boards in Bombay are in favour of this Bill. In the papers belonging to the United Provinces, only 2 small Municipalities are mentioned, both in favour. Here also we know from the newspapers that most of the Municipalities and a large number of the District Boards are in favour of this Bill. The Central Provinces papers mention only two local bodies—the Municipality of Nagpur and the District Board of Nagpur—of both which bodies my friend behind me is President. Both these bodies are in favour of the Bill. There are besides memoranda from five individual members of different local bodies, of whom four are in favour.

“Turning to what are known as the Presidency Municipalities, namely, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Rangoon, we find that Calcutta and Madras are strongly in favour of the Bill. Rangoon declines to express an opinion on the ground that it does not want to be saddled with any expenditure connected with elementary education. The Municipality of Bombay, while in favour of free and compulsory education, and while also in favour of the ultimate introduction of compulsion throughout the country, is unable to approve the special method which is advocated in the Bill, namely, that the initiative should be left to local bodies. But, my Lord, those who know the singular position which the Bombay Municipal Corporation occupies in regard to expenditure on elementary education will at once understand why that body has taken up that attitude. Under an agreement, which is now embodied in an Act of the local legislature, the Bombay Corporation has undertaken to bear the entire cost of primary education within municipal limits in Bombay on condition of being relieved of police charges, the only qualification being that if ever the Government introduces compulsory education in the country and requires the Bombay Corporation to introduce compulsion within its area, the Corporation should receive financial assistance from the Government similar to what other local bodies would receive. The plain financial interest of the Bombay Corporation therefore is not in leaving the initiative to local bodies but in the initiative coming from the Government, and it is no surprise that the Corporation of Bombay is unable to approve of a method which leaves the initiative to local bodies. Before passing from this point, I would respectfully warn the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education against leaning on the opinion of the Bombay Corporation for support, for that Corporation, in addition to being in favour of the principle of free and compulsory education, wants the cost of it to come out of Imperial funds!

“Turning next to the opinions of Local Governments, I would like first of all to present to the Council a brief analysis of the official opinions that have been sent up by the various Local Governments. Among these papers, there are altogether 234 official opinions recorded; of them 90 are in favour of the Bill. Sixty-five of the 234 officials are Indian officials, and of them 39 support the Bill, some of them being very high officials, such as High Court Judges, District Magistrates, District Judges, and so forth. Of the English officials, there are 169 opinions recorded, of which 51 are in favour—a minority no doubt, but still a very respectable minority.

“Before proceeding further, I think I had better explain what I mean by a person being in favour of the principle of the Bill so as to prevent misapprehension of the language which I am employing. My Lord, the principle of the Bill is to introduce compulsion at once in selected areas. Not all over the country, but in selected areas; not at some remote time, but at once. To make a beginning at once in selected areas, the initiative being left to local bodies—that is the fundamental idea of the Bill. All else is a matter of detail. Some of the details are important, others unimportant. The question



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of a local education rate, the question whether education is to be absolutely free, or free for poor people only, the proportion of cost which the Government is to bear,—all these are important matters, but matters of detail capable of adjustment when the final settlement of the scheme takes place. Now, all those who are in favour of the fundamental part of the Bill, I claim to be in favour of the Bill for my present purpose; all those, on the other hand, who cannot assent to it, against the Bill. Now, in Madras, the opinions of no European officials are given, the only exception being that of two European High Court Judges, who are both in favour of the Bill. In Bombay, out of 19 European officials consulted, 8 are in favour, one of them being the Director of Public Instruction, and 2 being Inspectors of Schools for the Presidency proper (the 3rd Inspector, an Indian, being also in favour), 2 Commissioners of Divisions out of 3 in the Presidency proper, and 3 Collectors. In Bengal, out of 21 European officers consulted, 4 are in favour, all being District Magistrates. In Eastern Bengal and Assam, out of 21, 2 are in favour, both being District Magistrates. In the United Provinces, out of 38 officers consulted, 6 are in favour, 1 of them being a High Court Judge, 1 a Commissioner, and 4 Collectors. In the Punjab, out of 38 European officers consulted, no less than 20 are in favour of the Bill—the largest proportion of European officers in favour of the Bill thus, strangely enough, coming from the Punjab. Among these 20, there is 1 Financial Commissioner, 1 Commissioner, 9 Deputy Commissioners, 5 Divisional Judges, 3 District Judges, and 1 Sub-Divisional Officer. In the Central Provinces, only 4 official opinions are given, out of which 2 are in favour, both being Commissioners of Divisions. On the whole, my Lord, I claim that a very respectable minority of European officials is in favour of the measure. The officials who are opposed to this Bill may roughly be divided into three classes. First come a few Rip Van Winkles who appear to be sublimely unconscious as to what is going on not only in the rest of the world, but in India itself. To this class also belong a few cynics who do not understand the value of mass education, and who naively ask what good mass education has done anywhere. I was astonished to find among this class an Inspector of Schools in Madras. The very least that a kind Government can do for him is to transfer him to some more congenial Department, say the Department of Forests! To the second class belong those who see in a wide diffusion of elementary education a real danger to British rule; also those who are against mass education, because they are against all popular progress, and who imagine in their short-sightedness that every step gained by the people is one lost by them. In the third class—and I am glad to say the bulk of the official opinions recorded belong to this class—are those who accept the necessity and the importance of mass education, who accept the policy which has been repeatedly laid down by the Government of India during a period of more than 60 years, but who do not recognise the necessity of compulsion at the present moment. They think that a great part of the educational field has to be covered on a voluntary basis, that compulsion would be inexpedient, and would lead to hardship, to discontent, and to danger. Some of them object to this measure on educational or on financial grounds. The outstanding feature of the official opposition to the Bill is however the fact that every Local Government that was consulted on this Bill has gone against the measure, and that makes it necessary that we should examine the opinions of Local Governments and the objections raised by them in some detail. The only Local Government that comes very near to supporting the principle of the Bill is the Government of Madras. Not that that Government does not regard the Bill as objectionable or argue against it. What distinguishes it, however, from the other Local Governments is that it does not ignore the strength of the case in favour of the Bill, and that it does not argue as though the heavens would fall if the Bill were passed into law. After urging several objections against the Bill the Madras Government says at the close of its letter that if the Government of India were disposed to accept this Bill, it would like it to be confined for the present to municipal areas only. The answer to that is that it would be entirely in the hands of the Government of India and the Local Governments to so confine it for the present. The Government of India could lay down such a proportion of school attendance to the total school-going population as a necessary preliminary test to

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be satisfied before compulsion is introduced, that thereby only Municipalities and not District Boards could for the present come under the Bill. Moreover, if any rural area wanted to try the measure, the Local Government could withhold its sanction. This opinion of the Madras Government, again, is the opinion of three members out of four. The fourth member, the late Mr. Krishnaswami Iyar, one of the most brilliant men of our day, a man whose untimely death has made a gap in the ranks of public workers in the country, which it will take long to fill, has written a masterly minute of dissent, giving his whole-hearted support to the Bill and demolishing the objections urged by his colleagues against the measure. The next Local Government that comes, in a grudging manner and in spite of itself, to a conclusion not wholly dissimilar to that of the Madras Government is the Administration of the Central Provinces. After exhausting everything that can possibly be said against the Bill, that Government says in the end that if the Government of India wanted to try the Bill, it might be tried in a few selected municipal areas only. Only it does not want a general Act of this Council for the whole country, but it would like an amendment to be undertaken of the various Provincial Municipal Acts for the purpose; and it would lay down a condition, that only those Municipalities should be allowed to introduce compulsion which are prepared to bear the whole cost of compulsion themselves! Now, my Lord, if the object we have in view can be attained by amending Provincial Local Self-government Acts, I for one have no objection whatever. All I want is that local bodies should have the power to introduce compulsion, where a certain condition of things has been reached, under the control and with the assistance of Local Governments. But I do not understand why the Central Provinces Government should lay down that condition that local bodies, wanting to introduce compulsion, should bear the entire cost themselves. I can understand a Local Government saying that it cannot finance any scheme of compulsion out of its own resources. But I cannot understand why the Central Provinces Administration should try to impose such a condition unless it be to punish those Municipalities which show special keenness for education in their areas. I am quite sure that that was not the meaning of the Local Government, and therefore I must frankly say I do not understand why this condition has been laid down. The Government of Bengal sees no objection *per se* to the principle of compulsory elementary education, only it thinks that, considering the apathy of the people at the present moment, compulsion is not suitable. Moreover, it says, that if it is called upon to introduce compulsion in the near future, it will not be able to find the money out of Provincial revenues, and that it would be forced to look to the Government of India for assistance. The Governments of Eastern Bengal and the Punjab oppose the Bill merely on general grounds, the letter of the Government of Eastern Bengal being almost perfunctory in its treatment of the subject. The letter of the United Provinces Government is a document that might have been written with some excuse 20 years ago. I cannot understand how a Provincial Government, at the beginning of the 20th century, can put forth arguments such as are contained in the letter of the acting Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. The Government of Burma opposes the Bill on grounds the very reverse of those on which other Local Governments oppose it. Other Local Governments oppose the Bill because there is not a sufficient advance made in the field of elementary education in their Provinces; but the Government of Burma opposes the Bill because there is already a sufficiently large advance of elementary education in that Province! The last Government that I would mention in this connection is the Government of Bombay. My Lord, this Government is the strongest opponent of the Bill, and I feel bound to say—though it hurts my Provincial pride to have to say so—that the very vehemence with which this Government argues the case against the Bill is calculated to defeat its own purpose, and that the terms of impatience in which its letter is couched, while not adding to the weight to the argument, only suggests a feeling of resentment that any non-official should have ventured to encroach on a Province which it regards as an official monopoly. My Lord, it will be convenient to deal with the objections, which have been raised by the several Local Governments, all together. Before



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doing so, however, I think I should state briefly again to the Council the case for the Bill, so that members should see the grounds for and against the Bill side by side before them. My Lord, the policy of the Government of India in this matter, as I have already observed, is now a fixed one. The Government of India have accepted in the most solemn and explicit manner the responsibility for mass education in this country. The Educational Despatch of 1854, the Education Commission's Report of 1882, with the Resolution of the Government of India thereon, and the Resolution of Lord Curzon's Government of 1904, all speak with one voice on this point, namely, that the education of the masses is a sacred responsibility resting upon the Government of India. When we, however, come to consider the extent of the field which has so far been covered, I feel bound to say that the progress made is distinctly disappointing. Taking the figures for 1901, the beginning of this century, and that means after 50 years of educational effort, the number of boys at school in this country was only about 32 lakhs, and the number of girls only a little over 5 lakhs. Taking only 10 per cent.—not 15 per cent. as they take in the West and as they do in official publications, even in India, taking only a modest 10 per cent.—as the proportion of the total population that should be at school, I find that in 1901 only about 27 per cent. of the boys and about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the girls that should have been at school were at school! During the last ten years, elementary education has no doubt been pushed on with special vigour and the rate of progress has been much faster. Even so, what is the position to-day? From a statement which was published by the Education Department the other day, I find that the number of boys at school has risen during these ten years from 32 lakhs to a little under 40 lakhs, and the number of girls from 5 lakhs to a little under 7 lakhs. Taking the new census figures of our population, this gives us for boys a proportion of 31 per cent. and for girls  $5\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. Taking the proportion of total school attendance to the total population of the country, we find that the percentage was only 1·6 ten years ago, and it is now no more than 1·9. My Lord, all the Local Governments have stated that we must adhere to the present voluntary basis for extending primary education, and the Bombay Government professes itself to be very well pleased with the rate at which it is moving in the matter. A small calculation will show how long it will take for every boy and every girl of school-going age to be at school at the present rate. I have stated just now that during the last ten years the number of boys at school has risen from 32 to 40 lakhs or a total increase in ten years of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs, and the number of girls has risen from 5 to under 7 lakhs, or an increase of about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  lakhs. This gives us an annual increase for boys of 75,000 and for girls of 17,000. Now, assuming that there is no increase of population in future—absolutely no increase of population—an obviously impossible assumption—even then at the present rate a simple arithmetical calculation will show that 115 years will be required for every boy and 665 years for every girl of school-going age to be at school! Even in Bombay, where things are slightly more advanced, it will take at least 75 years for every boy of school-going age between 6 and 10 years of age to be at school. Well might Mr. Orange, the late Director General of Education, who was in this Council two years ago, exclaim :—

‘If the number of boys at school continued to increase, even at the rate of increase that has taken place in the last five years, and there was no increase in population, several generations would still elapse before all the boys of school-going age were at school.’

“And well might my late lamented friend Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyar of Madras, after a similar examination of the figures for that Presidency, observe in terms of sorrow :—‘The voluntary method of persuasion must be condemned as a hopeless failure.’

“My Lord, this then is the position. The Government of India are committed to a policy of mass education, and the rate at which we have been going for the last 60 years is hopelessly slow. Even at the accelerated pace

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of the last ten years, it will take enormously long periods for every boy and every girl to be at school. Moreover, this does not take into account the natural and necessary increases of population in the country. What then is to be done? Are we going to content ourselves with experiments of our own only, experiments which can only prolong the reign of ignorance in the country? My Lord, India must profit by the example and by the experience of other civilized countries. And other civilized countries have come to only one conclusion in this matter, and that is that the State must resort to compulsion in order to secure universal education for the people. Most of the Western civilized countries have accepted this, and I have already given to the Council, when introducing this Bill, statistics showing what progress they have made under a system of compulsory education, and how India compares with them. There are also the examples nearer India, of which I have spoken—examples of the Philippines, of Ceylon and of Baroda—which are of the utmost importance, and the mere assertion that their circumstances are different from those of British India cannot dispose of them. Of course no two cases can be exactly alike. But what you must show is that their circumstances are so different that what has succeeded in their case will not succeed in ours. And till you show this, we are entitled to say that the experiment which has succeeded elsewhere should also be tried in India. I do not see what difference there is between the population of Ceylon and the population of the Southern Presidency or between the population of Baroda and the population of British Gujarat. Therefore, those who argue that these analogies will not do on the score that the circumstances are different, will have to establish the difference they speak of and not merely content themselves with the assertion that the cases are different. Moreover, I will mention to-day another instance—an instance which I was not able to mention last year because I had no definite information then on the subject—that of a most interesting experiment that has been recently tried with success in another Native State in India. It is a State in the Bombay Presidency and the experiment has been made under the very eye of the Bombay Government, not by the Chief, but by a British officer appointed by the Government as Administrator during the minority of the Chief—I refer to the State of Sangli. That State has a population of a little over 2 lakhs. Captain Burke, the Administrator, who was at the head of the State for 6 or 7 years, found that the average school-attendance was very low in the State, being only about 2 per cent. of the population. At the end of 1907, he issued orders throughout the State making elementary education both free and compulsory under certain conditions. He, however, approached the problem from another standpoint. He laid down that at least 4 per cent. of the total population, that is, twice the percentage for British India, must be at school. He ordered schools to be opened in every village with a population of 400 and above, and his orders to the village officials were that where the attendance at school exceeded 4 per cent. there was to be no compulsion, but if it was lower than four per cent. compulsion was to be applied, not only in the case of boys but also in the case of girls! The age limits for boys were laid down to be between 7 and 12 and for girls between 7 and 10, and the responsibility was thrown on the village officials to ensure at least a 4 per cent. attendance, the Education Department of the State inspecting the work with care and vigilance. And in less than three years, as a result of these orders, the number of children at school doubled itself. In 1907, only about 5,000 children in a population of little over 2 lakhs were at school; in 1910, 10,000 children were at school, the number of schools too had largely increased; but while these most gratifying results were being obtained, hardly anyone outside the State knew anything about what was going on. Those who speak of the opposition which might be encountered from the mass of the people themselves if compulsion is introduced, those who urge that there might be trouble, might well take note of the fact that in this State of Sangli compulsion was introduced not in advanced but in the most backward areas, not by the Chief, but by the British officer, and the experiment has proved so successful and has been so quietly carried out that very few outside the State have even heard of it. I therefore contend that we, in British India, might also have recourse to



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compulsion with great advantage. I for one shall rejoice if the British Government of the country takes its courage into both hands and comes forward boldly to introduce compulsion throughout the country for both boys and girls—the whole field to be covered in a certain number of years. But since that cannot be, and if anyone has any doubt in the matter that doubt will be dissipated by a reference to the official opinions received on the present Bill, the only alternative is for local bodies to be empowered to take the initiative, and introduce compulsion with the sanction and under the control of the Local Government. Local bodies, however, cannot take the initiative, unless there is legislation to empower them, and that is the reason why this Bill has been introduced. Whether this object is gained by enacting a special law for the whole country or by an amendment of the old Local Self-government Acts of the different Provinces is a minor matter. The great thing is to make a beginning in introducing compulsion. Once a beginning is made, the public mind in the country will be rapidly familiarised with the idea of compulsion, and it will then not take more than 20 years at the outside to have a system of universal education in the country in full operation. As apprehensions are entertained in official and other quarters as to how compulsion will be regarded by the people, it is necessary to proceed cautiously; hence the proposal that the experiment should first be tried in selected areas only. Again, there is a fairly general opinion among those who have given any thought to the subject that for compulsion to be successfully applied in British India, there should be among the people a fair spread of elementary education, so that they may be in a position to appreciate its benefits. For that reason our proposal is that no local body should take up the question of compulsion unless at least 33 per cent. of the school-going population within its area is already at school. And in the Bill the power to lay down this proportion or any other proportion is left to the Government of India, so that if they deem it necessary they might prescribe a higher proportion. Moreover, no local body under the Bill can introduce compulsion without obtaining the previous sanction of the Local Government. To begin with, compulsion is contemplated only for boys, though power is taken to extend it, in due course, to girls; and I do hope that whenever it comes, it will be so extended to girls. The cost of the scheme is to be shared between local bodies and the Local Governments in a reasonable proportion, which, in my opinion, should be one-third for local bodies and two-thirds for Local Governments, the actual proportion, however, being laid down by the Government of India, and additional funds being placed by the Supreme Government at the disposal of Provincial Governments for meeting the Government share of the cost. The Bill proposes to exempt very poor people from the payment of fees as a matter of right, and in all cases local bodies, which are empowered to levy a special education rate, if necessary, will be at liberty to remit fees altogether. The responsibility for providing adequate school accommodation is thrown on local bodies, who will also have to arrange for a reasonable enforcement of compulsion. The curriculum must be approved by the Education Department of the Local Government, and finally, following the example of the compulsory Acts of other countries, provision is made for absence from school for reasonable excuses and penalties provided for wilful absence without reasonable excuse.

“ This, my Lord, is the Bill, and this is the case for the Bill. I will now proceed to consider the more important objections which the different Local Governments have urged against this Bill, as also those that have been urged by some non-official critics. I will dismiss with very few words the objection that a spread of mass education in British India involves danger to British rule. My Lord, I do not believe that there would be any such danger. My own belief is that it is rather the other way, that there will be danger, not from the spread of education, but from the withholding of education. But, my Lord, even if there is a possible element of danger in the spread of education, it is the clear duty of the British Government to face that danger and to go on with a faithful discharge of their responsibility. I do not think that any sane Englishman will urge that the people of this country should pay the price of perpetual

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ignorance for even such advantages as the most enthusiastic supporter of British rule may claim for it. Leaving therefore that objection aside, there are seven objections to which I would like briefly to refer. The first objection is to compulsion itself. The second objection is urged on educational grounds. The third is on the score of the cost of the scheme. The fourth is on account of alleged financial inequality and injustice in which the scheme would result. These four are official objections. Then there are three non-official objections. The first is to the levy of a special educational rate; the second to the levy of fees from parents whose income is not below Rs. 10 a month; and the third is the Muhammadan objection that the provisions of the Bill may be used to compel Moslem children to learn non-Moslem languages. I will answer these objections briefly one by one. The principal argument of those who are against compulsion is that there is plenty of room yet for work on a voluntary basis; that schools are filled as soon as they are opened, thus showing that the need of the situation is more schools and not compulsion; and that in any case till persuasion is exhausted, it is not desirable to go in for compulsion. Now, my Lord, this statement is not a complete statement of the case. It is quite true that in certain places, as soon as schools are opened, they are filled. But there is also ample official evidence to show that in many areas schools have had to be shut down because children would not come. We find a statement to this effect in the United Provinces official papers. Mr. Maynard of the Punjab, in a most thoughtful opinion recorded on the Bill, says:—'It will very frequently be found that a perfectly genuine demand for a school on the part of a zealous minority does not guarantee an attendance after the school is provided, and it is occasionally necessary to close for this reason schools which have been opened on too sanguine a forecast.' In Bengal and Eastern Bengal also several zamindars have complained that though they opened free schools on their estates, it was found difficult to get boys to attend them, because of the great apathy among the people. The real fact is that there are two factors, as Mr. Orange has stated in the last quinquennial report on education, that cause the smallness of school attendance. One is undoubtedly the want of schools. But the other is the apathy of parents, even where schools exist. 'The apathy of the populace,' says Mr. Orange, 'towards primary education is often mentioned and does undoubtedly operate as a cause which keeps school attendance low.' He admits this, though he himself would like to push on education for the present on a voluntary basis only. Now, the remedy for this state of things must also be two-fold. First of all local bodies must be required to provide the necessary educational facilities for children that should be at school—school-houses, teachers, etc. That is one part of compulsion. Then they must be empowered to require parents to send their children to school—that would be the second part of compulsion. Now, my Lord, this Bill advocates both sides of this two-fold compulsion. It not merely requires parents in the areas where the Bill may be introduced to send their children to school, it also throws a definite responsibility on local bodies coming under the Bill to provide the necessary school accommodation and other facilities for the education of all the children within their area. Then it is said that compulsion would cause hardship, would cause discontent, and would prove dangerous. Well, the experience of other countries and as also in our own does not justify this view; and in any case, even if there is some discontent, that has got to be faced in view of the great interests that are involved in this matter. It is argued by some that the poorer people will be exposed to the exactions of a low-paid agency if compulsion is introduced. I think the fears on this subject are absurdly exaggerated. But if the people are so weak as to succumb easily to such exactions, the only way in which they can be strengthened is by spreading education among them and by enabling them to take better care of themselves.

"Those who object to the Bill on educational grounds urge that it is undesirable to extend the kind of education that is at present given in primary schools, for it is worse than useless. Most of the teachers are not trained teachers, the school buildings are unfit for holding classes in, and therefore, until these defects are moved, until there is a sufficient supply of trained



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teachers forthcoming, until ample decent school accommodation is available, the question of extension should wait. My Lord, those who raise these objections ignore what is the primary purpose of mass education. The primary purpose of mass education is to banish illiteracy from the land. The quality of education is a matter of importance that comes only after illiteracy has been banished. Now, the primary purpose being to banish illiteracy, teachers who could teach a simple curriculum of the 3 R's, and houses hired by or voluntarily placed by owners at the disposal of school authorities, must do for the present. In Japan, when they began compulsion, they held classes in the verandahs of private houses. I think what was not beneath the dignity of Japan need not be beneath the dignity of this country. Of course I do not depreciate the value and importance of trained teachers and decent school-houses; but I say that we cannot wait till all these defects are first put right before taking up the question of banishing illiteracy from the land. Let that work be resolutely taken in hand, and as we go along let us try to secure for the country better teachers and better school-houses.

"The third objection to the Bill is on the score of cost. My Lord, a lot of wild criticism has been indulged in by the opponents of the Bill on this point. Nobody denies that the cost of a compulsory scheme is bound to be large. But all sorts of fantastic estimates have been brought forward to discredit the scheme in the eyes of those who can be misled by such tactics. I think the calculation of cost is a fairly simple one. The Bill is intended to apply in the first instance to boys only, and we will therefore for the present take the cost for boys. Taking 10 per cent. of the total male population as the number of boys between the ages of 6 and 10, and taking the male population at about 125 millions, according to the latest Census, we find that the number of boys that should be at school is about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  millions. Of these, about 4 millions are already at school. That leaves about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  millions to be brought to school. Now, Mr. Orange, the Director General of Education, in a note which he prepared for the Government, took the average cost of education per boy at Rs. 5, the present average cost is less than Rs. 4; the highest is in Bombay where it is Rs. 6-8 and everywhere else it is less than Rs. 4. These figures are given in the Quinquennial Report of Mr. Orange. Mr. Orange takes Rs. 5 per head, and I am willing to take that figure. Now, Rs. 5 per head, for  $8\frac{1}{2}$  millions of boys amounts to about  $4\frac{1}{4}$  crores per year, or, say,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  crores per year. I propose that this cost should be divided between the Government and the local bodies in the proportion of two-thirds and one-third; that is, the Government should find 3 crores and local bodies the remaining  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores. This again will be worked up to in ten years. If we have to find this money in ten years, it means a continuous increase of about 30 lakhs in our annual expenditure on primary education. Allowing another crore for pushing on education on a voluntary basis for girls, to be reached in ten years, means another 10 lakhs a year, or a continuous annual addition of 40 lakhs of rupees in all. Now, I do not think that this is too much for the Government to find. My Lord, I have given some attention to the question of our finance for some years, and I do not think that an addition of 40 lakhs every year is really beyond the power of the Government of India. Moreover, even if it be proposed that the whole of these 4 crores should be raised straight off, that all boys should be brought to school compulsorily at once, and that a crore of rupees more should be spent on the education of girls—assuming that these four crores have to be found straight off, an addition of 2 per cent. to our customs will solve the problem. Our customs-revenue is about ten crores this year with the duty standing at 5 per cent.; about 2 per cent. more will bring us the required 4 crores. Now, there is no special merit in having our customs-duty at 5 per cent., and they might as well stand at 7 per cent. without causing any serious hardship to anybody. There was a time when they stood at 10 per cent. in this country, and at the present moment they are at 8 per cent. in Egypt. I do not think therefore that there are really any very insuperable difficulties in the way of the scheme on the score of cost.

"Then, it is said that a scheme like this, a permissive scheme, which allows areas to come under compulsion one by one, is bound to result in serious financial

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injustice and inequality as regards the assistance received from Government by different local areas. Now, my Lord, I feel bound to say that this is one of the flimsiest arguments that have been urged against the scheme which we are considering. If anybody proposed as a permanent arrangement that elementary education in certain parts of the country should be on a compulsory basis and in certain others on a voluntary basis, and if the areas that were on a compulsory basis got more from Government than the areas that were on a voluntary basis, there would be some force in the contention that different areas were being differently treated. But the arrangement that I propose is clearly transitional; in the end every part of the country is to rest on a compulsory basis and would share equally in the allotment made by Government. In a transitional stage, provided the same terms are equally open to all, I do not see where the injustice or inequality comes in. If a local body feels aggrieved that some other local body gets more than itself from Government, the remedy is in its own hands. All that it has got to do is to go in for compulsion itself. Those who object to the proposed scheme on the score that it would lead to financial inequality and injustice might object at once to the principle of introducing compulsion gradually, area by area. For how are we to proceed area by area, unless those areas that introduce compulsion first get also at the same time larger assistance from the Government?

"Moreover, is there absolute equality even at present in all matters? Even now, on a voluntary basis, the Government, in many parts of the country, bears about one-third of the cost of primary education, with the result that those areas that spend more get more from the Government, and those that spend less get less. Is that equal?

"Again, take the question of sanitary grants. Under the existing arrangements, those local bodies that go in for the construction of sanitary projects get a certain grant from the Government. Now, if the local bodies that do not take in hand such projects were to complain of injustice, because others that do are assisted by Government, their complaint would be perfectly ridiculous, and yet it is the same kind of complaint that is urged against the scheme of the Bill. I do not think that any weight need really be attached to the objection on the score of financial injustice and inequality when it is remembered that such inequality can only be a passing, transitional stage. It is said that under the Bill, advanced areas and communities would be benefited at the expense of the less advanced. That argument is based on a complete misapprehension of the scheme. No one has ever suggested, or can possibly suggest, that any money should be taken out of existing expenditure on primary education for its extension on a compulsory basis. No one can also possibly wish to curtail future increases in the allotments to education on a voluntary basis. The expenditure for introducing compulsion is to come out of additional revenues, partly raised locally and partly raised specially by the Government of India. The Government of India's funds will have necessarily to pass through the Local Governments, since education is a Provincial charge. But that does not mean that Provincial Governments will have to curtail their present or future expenditure on a voluntary basis to finance any scheme of compulsion.

"My Lord, I have so far dealt with the four principal official objections against the Bill. I will now refer very briefly to the three non-official arguments which I have mentioned. The first argument is that while there is no objection to compulsion itself, the levy of a special education rate, where it would be necessary, would be most objectionable. Well, my Lord, I must say to that, that if we merely want compulsion, but are not prepared to make any sacrifices for the benefits that would accrue from it to the mass of our people, the sooner we give up talking about securing universal education, the better. The practice of the whole civilized world points out that a part of the burden must be borne by the local bodies. There is only one exception, as far as I am aware, and that is Ireland, where almost the entire cost of elementary education comes from the Imperial Exchequer. They have given this special treatment to Ireland because for a long time Ireland has complained of being treated with great financial injustice under the arrangement that has been in existence since the Act of Union was passed more than a century ago. If we take the



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whole of the United Kingdom, we find that the local bodies there bear on the whole about a third of the total cost. It is the same in France. And in other countries, the local proportion is still larger. I cannot therefore see how anybody can reasonably urge that the whole cost of compulsion should be borne by the Central Government.

"The next objection urged in some non-official quarters is that if you make education compulsory, it must be made free and the Bill does not make it free for all. I frankly confess that the proposal embodied in the Bill on this point was intended to conciliate official opinion. My own personal view always was that, where education was made compulsory, it should also be made free. Two years ago, when I placed my Resolution on this subject before this Council, I urged that view in explicit terms. In framing the Bill, however, I was anxious to go as far as possible to conciliate official opinion, and I therefore put in the provision that no fees should be charged in the case of those whose incomes were below Rs. 10 a month, and that above that limit the matter should be left to the discretion of local bodies. Well, my Lord, I must frankly admit that I have failed in my object. Official opinion has not been conciliated; and I do not see why I should allow room for a division in our own ranks by adhering to this provision. I shall therefore be glad to go back to my original proposal in this matter that, where education is compulsory, it should also be free.

"Lastly, my Lord, a word about the Muhammadan objection. I believe I need not say that there never was any intention that the compulsory clauses of the Bill should be utilized to compel Moslem boys to learn non-Moslem languages. However, to remove all misapprehension on this point, I am perfectly willing that where 25 children speaking a particular language attend a school, provision should be made for teaching those children in that language; and further, where the number is less than that, it should be left to the community itself to say whether the children should come under the compulsory clauses of the Bill or not. I have discussed this matter with several leading Muhammadan gentlemen and I understand that this would meet their view.

"My Lord, I have now dealt with all principal objections urged against the Bill. I cannot understand why there should be all this vehement opposition in certain quarters to a measure so modest in its scope and so permissive in its character. No local body is compelled to come under this Bill, that wants to keep out of it. Any Local Government that wants to prevent compulsion being introduced in any particular area, can prevent it by withholding its sanction to its introduction. And, lastly, the supreme control of the Government of India is retained at the initial stage by the provision that it is the Government of India that should lay down the proportion of school-going children at school which must be satisfied before any local body can take up the question of compulsion. I cannot see how such a Bill can do harm in any locality. I would only invite the attention of the Council to the fact that at least a hundred Municipalities, more or less important, are willing to-day to try the experiment in their areas if this Bill is passed, and I do not see why these Municipalities should not be permitted to make the experiment. Of course the whole thing hinges on whether the Government of India are prepared to find a good part of the cost. That is, in fact, the real crux of the question, and whether the Bill is accepted or thrown out, it is perfectly clear that no large extension of elementary education is possible in the country, unless the Government of India come forward with generous financial assistance. I would therefore like to make a special appeal to the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education on this occasion. My Lord, the Hon'ble Member knows that no one has acclaimed more enthusiastically than myself the creation of the Education Department, and I am sure every one will admit ungrudgingly that during the year and a half that the Department has been in existence, it has already amply justified its existence by the large grants, recurring and non-recurring, that it has succeeded in securing both for education and sanitation in this country. We are sincerely grateful to the Government of India for these grants. And,

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my Lord, in view of the conversation with Your Excellency which was mentioned by the Finance Member the other day, I think we are justified in expecting that in succeeding years these grants will grow more and more, and not less. Well, so far I believe we are all at one with the Department, but I would like to say something more to the Hon'ble Member. My Lord, I know that the fate of my Bill is sealed. Now, there are obvious disadvantages attaching to a private Bill. Why not introduce a Government measure, after the ground has been cleared by the rejection of this Bill? Why not—I put it to the Hon'ble Member—introduce a Government measure? It is quite true that there is room for progress on a voluntary basis. Let the Local Governments who are so anxious to keep education on a voluntary basis be required to push on its spread as vigorously as possible on a voluntary basis. And let the Government of India in the Education Department take up the question of pushing it on on a compulsory basis, as its own special charge. I would like to put it to the Hon'ble Member, Is he content merely to take grants from the Finance Department and distribute them among the various Local Governments and then look on, or is he not anxious, as I think it is his duty, to take a hand in the game himself? If he is, then I suggest that there should be a division of functions such as I have described between the Provincial Governments and the Government of India. The progress of education on a voluntary basis should be left to the Provincial Governments. They do not want compulsion. They all prefer to push it on a voluntary basis. Let us then leave that work to them; let the Government of India, with its wider outlook and its larger resources, come forward, and, profiting by the example of other civilized countries, provide for the gradual introduction of compulsion in this country. Let the Government take up the question of compulsion themselves, then they will be able to provide all the safeguards that they deem necessary. Let them frame a Bill free from all the blemishes which have been discovered in mine, and let them carry it through the Council. And let them, at the same time, announce a generous policy of substantial assistance to local bodies in carrying out the provisions of the measure. Let the Government, my Lord, let this be done, and let the burden of all future extensions be shared between the Government and the local bodies in the proportion of two-thirds and one-third. I would recommend that both for voluntary and compulsory extensions—I mean Provincial Governments should bear two-thirds of the cost of all future extensions of elementary education on a voluntary basis, and the Government of India, two-thirds of the cost of compulsion. Then, my Lord, elementary education will advance in this country with truly rapid strides, and the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Education Department will, under Your Excellency, write his name large on the memory of a grateful people.

“My Lord, I have done. No one is so simple as to imagine that a system of universal education will necessarily mean an end to all our ills, or that it will open out to us a new heaven and a new earth. Men and women will still continue to struggle with their imperfections and life will still be a scene of injustice and suffering, of selfishness and strife. Poverty will not be banished because illiteracy has been removed, and the need for patriotic or philanthropic work will not grow any the less. But with the diffusion of universal education the mass of our countrymen will have a better chance in life. With universal education there will be hope of better success for all efforts, official or non-official, for the amelioration of the people—their social progress, their moral improvement, their economic well-being. I think, my Lord, with universal education the mass of the people will be better able to take care of themselves against the exactions of unscrupulous money-lenders or against the abuses of official authority by petty men in power. My Lord, with 94 per cent. of our countrymen sunk in ignorance, how can the advantages of sanitation or thrift be properly appreciated, and how can the industrial efficiency of the worker be improved? With 94 per cent. of the people unable to read or write, how can the evil of superstition be effectively combated, and how can the general level of life in the country be raised? My Lord, His Majesty the King-Emperor, in delivering his message of hope to



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the people of this country before he left Calcutta, was pleased to say : 'And it is my wish too that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge, with what follows in its train—a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health.' No nobler words were ever uttered. May we not hope that the servants of His Majesty in this country will keep these words constantly before their minds and will so discharge the responsibility which they impose that future generations in this country will be enabled to turn to His Majesty's declaration with the same fervent and reverent gratitude with which the people of Japan recall their Emperor's famous rescript of 1872? My Lord, I know that my Bill will be thrown out before the day closes. I make no complaint. I shall not even feel depressed. I know too well the story of the preliminary efforts that were required even in England, before the Act of 1870 was passed, either to complain or to feel depressed. Moreover, I have always felt and have often said that we, of the present generation in India, can only hope to serve our country by our failures. The men and women who will be privileged to serve her by their successes will come later. We must be content to accept cheerfully the place that has been allotted to us in our onward march. This Bill, thrown out to-day, will come back again and again, till on the stepping-stones of its dead selves, a measure ultimately rises which will spread the light of knowledge throughout the land. It may be that this anticipation will not come true. It may be that our efforts may not conduce even indirectly to the promotion of the great cause which we all have at heart and that they may turn out after all to be nothing better than the mere ploughing of the sands of the sea-shore. But, my Lord, whatever fate awaits our labours, one thing is clear. We shall be entitled to feel that we have done our duty, and, where the call of duty is clear, it is better even to labour and fail than not to labour at all."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :** "My Lord, I rise to oppose the motion, and Hon'ble Members will believe me I do it with the deepest regret. It is to me an unwelcome duty, a painful necessity. Even up to the last moment I cherished the hope that my difficulties would be removed, difficulties which I anticipated last year and which in the judgment of the country have appeared real and grave. I have listened to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's speech with the close attention, sympathy and respect which such an able speaker and disinterested worker deserves. I have a bias both for him and the great cause which he advocates. But all the same I am impressed more than ever that the scheme embodied in the Bill is ill-calculated to promote that diffusion of elementary education which we all have so much at heart. It is this conviction which underlies my opposition to-day. It is very painful, but withal unavoidable. I would be remiss in my duty to the country in general, and my Province in particular, if I did not oppose the motion.

"My Lord, I hope my attitude will not be misunderstood. There is need for caution in that my friend Mr. Gokhale, in the admirable enthusiasm he always brings to bear upon his work, is at times apt to regard as irreconcilable positions that are perfectly consistent in themselves. On the last occasion I spoke on his Bill, in his polemical ardour he charged me with inconsistency, with what justice I leave it to the Council to judge. The tax, the condemnation of which provoked his attack, has now been practically universally condemned. He has likewise such a righteous horror of 'conversion to official views' that in the intensity of his feeling he ignores the possibility of a non-official member opposing, honestly and from conviction, a motion which has his support.

"My Lord, I have as great a faith in free and compulsory primary education to-day as when I spoke on Mr. Gokhale's Bill last year. I feel as keenly to-day as ever that if there is any country in which a sound system of universal elementary education is urgently required, it is India, with its dense mass of ignorance, its religious and social prejudices, its industrial backwardness, its want of enterprise, its helplessness. And, paradoxical as it may seem, it is because I feel the necessity that I cannot conscientiously support the Bill. Our aim now is diffusion and not concentration; the more widespread education of the masses and not of classes; the solution of the education problem in the country more than in towns. Anything that retards the progress of primary

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education in rural areas must be opposed to this object. Now, apart from its other defects, the Bill before us will produce this unfortunate result, as I will shew later on. The only consistent course, therefore, for one whose enthusiasm for the cause is not obscured by his admiration for Mr. Gokhale's great talents is to oppose the Bill at this stage.

"My Lord, last year I observed :

'Most people will agree with Mr. Gokhale on the fundamental question of free and compulsory education. But the method adopted by him for securing the end is doubtless open to question. The outstanding features of the Bill require careful examination and considerable modification. That is, however, no reason why the Bill should not be allowed to be introduced. The need for a system of free and compulsory primary education premised, a satisfactory settlement of the details can best be secured by the publication and circulation of the Bill for opinions after introduction. Mr. Gokhale, with his respect for public opinion, will himself, I am sure, recast the Bill, as he has said to-day in Council, in the light of the criticisms in the Press and those submitted to Government by responsible persons through the usual channels.'

"The opinions on the Bill collected and circulated by Government have confirmed my views. Notwithstanding the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's campaign during the year, sometimes at great personal sacrifice and inconvenience, for which the people are under the deepest obligations to him, the sense of the country is decidedly against the Bill. It has been attacked by people and bodies belonging to diametrically opposite schools of political thought. Its very permissive nature, which in one view constitutes its chief merit, has excited the criticism that, if passed into law, it can only be a dead letter. That appears to be the prevailing opinion. It is not confined to officials. Even Babu Surendranath Banerjee, a veteran leader who has consecrated his life to the noble cause of education, in the valuable opinion he has recorded on the Bill as Secretary to the Indian Association, a body of advanced politicians prominent among whom is my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, has remarked :

'The Committee are afraid that a purely permissive enactment relating to primary and free education would share the fate of the Drainage Bill relating to sanitation, and its provisions would not be generally availed of and the Act remain more or less nugatory.'

"While the contrary view is held by high officials conscious of the responsibilities of their position, and the fear is frankly expressed that the control sought to be given to the Local Government over local bodies in the matter of the introduction of the measure into particular areas will be a weak check upon local enthusiasm, and sanction may have to be accorded for political reasons. The Punjab Government observes :

'It will no doubt be said that the Bill is only permissive, and that it rests with the Local Government to extend it or not. The opinions received show what political pressure would be put on the Local Government if such an expedient were adopted.'

"Opinion is practically unanimous, again, that the compulsion provided in the Bill will be reduced to a nullity in practical working; so many conditions of exemption have been laid down. It has been rightly pointed out that no prosecution under the Act 'could be effective.'

"My remarks about the inadvisability of vesting the local bodies with discretionary powers of initiation, in that they are too much under the thumb of the District Officer, although resented at the time by the Hon'ble Mr. Quinn and the Hon'ble Mr. Madge, have received confirmation from high officials who could not be suspected of any want of sympathy with the District Officer. Mr. Montgomerie, Commissioner of the Jubbulpur Division, observes :

'The local bodies to whom it is proposed to entrust the initiative in the application of the Act have not yet acquired either the independence or the breadth of view or the businesslike habits requisite for dealing satisfactorily with a difficult problem like this; and as was freely pointed out by the non-official Indian members in the discussion on the Bill, in actual practice the initiative would remain very largely with the District Officer. Whether or not that is a desirable consummation it is not for me to argue. . . . The fact remains that the movement would in this Province be largely an official one, whereas the promoter of the Bill appears to desire that it should start rather from within than from without.'

"The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale finds in this reason for joy, in that he argues himself into the belief that 'it will really mean that the Government will be



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accepting its own responsibility and introducing compulsion.' But the sequence is not clear. In such a situation the District Officer keeps himself in the background, and manages the show from behind the scenes. His action does not commit the Government either way.

"A number of other high officials have recorded the deliberate opinion that the local bodies are not really representative. The Collector of Sholapur and Mr. Webster, Collector of Tippera, are among them. Mr. Fischer, Commissioner of Chittagong, says:

'The District Magistrate (Mr. Webster) himself expresses a doubt whether the Municipal Commissioners and the District Boards as constituted are sufficiently representative of the masses of the people to make them good judges of the expediency of extending the Act to any particular area,' and though their action would require the previous sanction of Government, he does not think that this form of local option would prove satisfactory.'

"Mr. Molony, Commissioner of Gorakhpur, and the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces recommend a referendum to the electorate before application of the Act, obviously under the belief that the local bodies do not faithfully represent the people. Whether this should be so or not, is a different matter, but since that is the case we must face the fact squarely.

"My Lord, clause 8 is the most objectionable feature of the Bill. I submitted to the Hon'ble Members last year an education cess would be unpopular. The opinions recorded prove that the condemnation is almost universal. Even the Local Governments strongly condemn such an imposition. The Bengal Government characterises the suggested taxation 'as oppressive'. The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam is 'not prepared to advocate special taxation'. The United Provinces Government

'is not convinced that the principle of granting powers to such local bodies under which they can levy rates, the proceeds of which will be earmarked for education purposes, is one which is suitable to local bodies in this Province.'

"The Punjab Government, speaking of the cess and the fines realisable under the Bill, points out:

'An educational impost of such a kind would be intolerable in the Punjab, particularly as what was recovered in fines would represent only a tithe of what would be extorted by the badly supervised bodies and persons who would have to put the provisions of the Act in force.'

"The Central Provinces Government observes:

'When, however, the question of funds is raised, there is a general consensus of opinion that they must be found by the Imperial or Provincial Government, and the provisions of the Bill which provide for local taxation either meet with disapproval or are ignored.'

"Mr. Sly, Commissioner of Berar, condemns the cess:

'Additional taxation is always unpopular and would be doubly so when combined with compulsory education.'

"The Bombay Government notices 'the extreme undesirability of enhancing taxation.' According to the Madras Government 'the levy of an adequate local rate could not fail to cause the gravest discontent in the areas to which it applied.' That Government further points out that 'in Ireland there is no education rate.' The Chief Commissioner of Coorg thinks 'it would be impossible to find these funds without levying a cess on the land-revenue which would bear very heavily on the people and would be extremely unpopular.' The Burma Government apparently is convinced that there is no room for increase in local taxation in Burma, and holds that 'the cost would not be met under present conditions by Municipalities and local areas.'

"But it is not officials only who object to the tax. Non-official gentlemen are even more emphatic in their condemnation of any increase in taxation. In the Central Provinces the general feeling is against a special impost. Mr. Khare, Chairman of the District Council of Wardha, and Mr. Deshmukh, Member of that Council, both advocates of free and compulsory education, object to the impost. At the numerous meetings that have been held in the country to support the Bill, the one prevailing sentiment has been one of strong opposition to the cess. The meeting of the residents of Barisal—a town where the people have done much to help the educational progress of the country—was typical. The president was a gentleman remarkable for his services in the

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cause of education. And the sense of the meeting was that 'it is desirable that the *Exchequer should provide funds* for the additional cost which the scheme is likely to entail.' The Municipal Corporation of Bombay, the part of the country the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale represents on this Council, object to the tax :

'They do not approve of the sections dealing with the levy of fees.'

"And further :

'The charge of primary education should be considered one of Imperial concern and Government should be prepared to deal with it out of Imperial funds, as far as possible now, and certainly when free and compulsory primary education is introduced.'

"Public opinion in this matter has been influenced by several weighty considerations. The tax has been attacked mainly on two grounds ; each one of them is by itself enough to make it impracticable, inequitable and unacceptable. In the first place, it means double taxation for people who cannot claim exemption from payment of school fees for their children, and the bulk of them are not rich. In the next place, the rate must of necessity be heavy. If the Bill is to be effective, the cost to the local bodies concerned could only be met by heavy extra local taxation. To give one illustration : Amritsar is a city which will in all probability be one of the selected areas in which the Bill, if passed, will be introduced. It is an industrial centre, a big prosperous town. And there the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Lumsden, says the local taxation will almost be quadrupled : 'In Amritsar city alone it is calculated that the rate will have to be raised by no less than 350 per cent.' The heart of the most ardent enthusiast quails in the presence of these facts. It has also been pertinently observed that if there is to be a special education cess, there is nothing to prevent in principle the imposition of special cesses for equally urgent local needs like sanitation, medical relief, improved communication, etc. Can any responsible Government be expected to sanction such heavy taxation in the teeth of universal opposition ? Mr. Gokhale himself admits that taxation in India is equal in incidence to the taxation in the United Kingdom and France.

"The position therefore is this. The introduction of free and compulsory elementary education is a question of funds. A special cess is out of the question. The money must be found by Government, which means the Imperial Government. The Provincial Governments are more or less straitened for funds. The defrayal of the whole cost by the Government of India, or for the matter of that by the Provincial Government, involves general taxation. The question then arises, can this taxation be increased ? Will Mr. Gokhale advocate the imposition of fresh taxes ? Is the sense of the community favourable to any large increase in taxation ? On this point, at any rate, there could not be any doubt. Any further increase in taxation will be extremely unpopular and will produce an amount of hardship and discontent which will be politically dangerous.

"My Lord, several reasons combine to discredit Mr. Gokhale's scheme of elementary education in view of the financial responsibility of the Government. If Government has to pay the whole cost or even a large part of it, there must be a general scheme of elementary education for both urban and rural areas. The general taxpayer cannot be made to pay taxes for the benefit of particular areas only. He has a right to claim equal treatment. If that is so, any extra allotment out of Government funds for the support of primary education in towns can only be made by diverting funds that would otherwise be spent in rural areas. This is inequitable in principle. It entails double injustice to the rural population. Funds to which they contribute are diverted from the rural areas, at their expense. Education there will be starved to that extent. There will be concentration instead of diffusion ; education in the towns will be supported at the sacrifice of the villages ; the classes will secure greater advantages than the masses. Mr. Drake-Brockman, Collector of Jhansi, well puts it :

'Compulsory education, if wanted at all, is wanted everywhere—probably most wanted in the places to which the Act will not be extended.'

"Even so enlightened and sympathetic an officer as Mr. A. C. Chatterji, Collector of Jalaun, points out :



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'This will naturally considerably curtail the amount available from Provincial or Imperial sources for more backward localities. The loss of the latter will be cumulative.'

"For Government therefore to support financially a partial scheme of education in towns only is not to be thought of. Such action will defeat the very object of the Bill,—mass education,—and the cause of elementary education will receive a check which can only be disastrous. As Khan Bahadur M. M. Mullna, Chairman of the District Council of Balaghat, observes in his illuminative note on the Bill:—

'The cost of such compulsory and free education is likely to be enormous, and whichever may be the favoured areas so selected to be brought immediately under the operation of the Act (and there may be a number of centres so selected), they will immediately draw, for that limited area, large and additional sums from Provincial revenues, which would otherwise remain available for the extension and imparting of efficient primary education in the other larger areas..... Another result will therefore be that though there will be greater extension of education where it already is finding favour to a certain extent, on the other hand, owing to the diversion of funds and consequent shrinkage of resources, the rate of progress in the other areas will actually be retarded for want of funds.'

"A scheme of universal education is the only equitable and effective scheme in these circumstances, but is singularly inopportune. The cost is prohibitive. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale only the other day described the financial position of the Government in terms which I make no apology for quoting:

'Now, as regards..... the condition of the finances, I think its prosperity is a matter which is open to very serious doubt. Only the year before last, the Hon'ble Finance Minister imposed fresh taxes on the country, because, in his view of things, the revenue then raised was not sufficient for the requirements of the State. It is true that last year there was a surplus and possibly, owing to the extraordinary circumstances of the year that is about to close, there will be another surplus announced next month..... Very probably in 1913, if the opium-revenue is really extinguished, our finances will pass through a very trying time.'

"Can an appeal for incurring the enormous expenditure involved in a complete scheme of primary education be successfully made to Government in this state of its finances, unless the country be prepared to submit to very heavy additional taxation? This last contingency need not be seriously considered.

"My Lord, it must be admitted that the financial results of an effective scheme of universal elementary education for the whole of British India, as worked out now by responsible authorities, would damp the ardour of the most go-ahead educationist. Mr. S. K. Agasti, Collector of Balasore, shews that, even for a small town like Balasore with a population of 21,000, the annual charge of an adequate system of primary education, at Rs. 350 for each school, would be Rs. 21,000. For the district he puts down the annual cost at Rs. 5½ lakhs. The necessary initial outlay is not taken into consideration. The cost of supervision is also neglected. The Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division, speaking of the Bhagalpur District, which is almost equal to the Baroda State in population though about half in area, calculates on the basis of the Baroda figures that a sum of over eight lakhs of rupees would be required annually for a popular system of compulsory and free education for the district as against the present expenditure of Rs. 1,39,114. The capital cost is again omitted. The Secretary to the Meerut District Board concludes from available statistics that, at Rs. 367 for every 100 infants, 'the aggregate expenditure would be Rs. 2,27,540 a year' for that district, exclusive of cost of buildings and equipment, against a present expenditure of Rs. 40,766. For a small district like Fyzabad the District Board requires Rs. 2½ lakhs for initial expenses and Rs. 1,25,000 every year for maintenance charges. At this rate, it can be easily imagined what an enormous expenditure is involved in introducing an efficient system of elementary education throughout British India, covering an area of 1,152,894 square miles, with 1,571 towns of 5,000 inhabitants and upwards and 602,411 villages, and a total population of 254,820,616, of whom, according to the usual percentage, over 38 millions must be children of school-going age. We have to provide for the elementary education of over 19 million children between six and ten years of age. Not to speak of initial outlay, the recurring charges alone would be, roughly speaking, nine crores of rupees a year, calculating the maintenance charges at

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Rs. 4-8 per head, which is an irreducible minimum. It has been calculated by high authorities that the annual rate of expenditure would be nearer Rs. 7-8. This expenditure of nine crores of rupees is for a system which is both compulsory and *free*, because all are agreed that education which is compulsory must be free. Liberal provision has been made in the Budget estimate of 1912-1913 for the support of education, but it is only a fraction of the actual needed to make compulsory primary education a success. And the allotment too includes expenditure for secondary and high education. There is small reason for the hope that the annual amount can be quadrupled or trebled and an adequate number of schools can be built forthwith without special taxation which is universally condemned. And until the money is forthcoming and the country is provided with sufficient school accommodation, we cannot have a comprehensive system of compulsory and free elementary education. The financial difficulty is, in existing circumstances, truly insurmountable. Mr. Gokhale puts down the cost of his scheme, limited to the big towns, at Rs. 40,00,000 a year. I do not know how far the estimate is correct. But be that as it may, the scheme will not solve the real problem of mass education; it will effect only a fringe of the vast population.

"The Calcutta University objects to Mr. Gokhale's scheme because a diversion of funds from the support of high education is apprehended as a consequence. Sir Asutosh Mukerji and his colleagues on the Syndicate cannot be justly charged with a shortsighted opposition to elementary education. Government will have to look to the needs of both sorts of education, and the country will not favour the development of the one at the expense of the other.

"The problem has become infinitely more difficult in India by the caste prejudices of the people, and there is a consensus of opinion that high-caste boys will not join the same school as the 'untouchables.' We want, therefore, a very much larger number of schools than what the population would otherwise require. This means increased cost. Mr. Walker, the level-headed Commissioner of the Nagpur Division, undoubtedly is right in saying that 'the classes will not hold out long, and one genuine benefit of the measure must be to break down caste distinctions.' But so long as this consummation does not take place, separate schools must be maintained. In India religious and linguistic differences also necessitate the establishment of a very much larger number of schools than has been found adequate elsewhere.

"The scheme of the Bill is further criticised, and in my humble opinion with considerable truth, that a four years' course is useless. The Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces opines that 'more than half the boys who go through a primary course lapse into illiteracy.' The danger is present in a short course. To get the best value for the money spent upon them, a full six years' course must be provided. And wider provision must be simultaneously made for secondary and high education to enable some of the primary scholars to continue their studies.

"The question of teachers also presents exceptional difficulties in a country like India. In England the free employment of women has saved the situation. There are there 111,277 female teachers as against 34,945 male teachers.

"Attendance Committees, provided in the Bill, in the opinion of the country, appear unworkable. But this is a matter of minor importance. The great need is a plentiful supply of money. For reasons explained above we must have a comprehensive scheme which is clearly outside the scope of the Bill. A small beginning, as Mr. Gokhale says, cannot be made with due regard to the central object we have in view. And the financial position of the Government presents insurmountable difficulties. In these circumstances I cannot support Mr. Gokhale's motion. The country has disapproved his scheme, and the question must be left where it is until a more equitable, practical and workable scheme is submitted to Government. The Bombay Corporation 'are of



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opinion that the method embodied in the Bill is not likely to attain the object in view in a practical and satisfactory manner.' I am afraid my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale has not correctly interpreted the opinion of the Bombay Corporation this morning in the Council.

"But, my Lord, we need not lose heart. Thanks to Mr. Gokhale for his unwearied efforts in the cause and to the noble initiative of Your Excellency, whose 'chief desire,' we are assured by high authority, is 'that the amelioration of sanitation and the wide and comprehensive diffusion of education should form the chief features of' your 'Viceroyalty,' an enlightened education policy has been adopted by Government. Liberal grants are being made. In the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler we have likewise a sympathetic Minister who is wide awake to the interests of his department, and with the generous response to appeals for supply for the promotion of beneficial objects which has characterised Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's term of office, we may yet look forward with lively hope for an early development of primary education such as would justify the introduction of compulsory and free elementary education at a minimum of inconvenience to the taxpayer."

**The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis :** "My Lord, I am sorry I have to oppose this motion, though the bodies of which I have the honour to be President have lent their support to the Bill, however qualified and restricted that support may be. I oppose it because after mature consideration I think it is unnecessary and unpractical. I have always been opposed to the principle of compulsion. I shall be untrue to myself as a representative of the landholders, whose interests I have the honour to represent in this Council, if I do not oppose the principle of compulsion on the ground that it is prejudicial to those interests, besides being of doubtful value to the subject of compulsion. With depopulation going on in villages by means of plague, malaria and exodus to the towns and consequent scarcity of labour, any weaning of children from the side of their parents for even such a good object as education is likely to be felt a calamity. Even the local bodies that have voted for this Bill have voted for it under so many conditions that it will be very very long before Mr. Gokhale's object will be accomplished.

"My Lord, I repeat, if I oppose the motion, I do it, not from any want of sympathy with its object or from any want of appreciation of Mr. Gokhale's motives and able exposition of its merits, but from the conviction that it is unnecessary and unpractical. The cardinal principle of the Bill is compulsory education. I disagreed with Mr. Gokhale's view last year for reasons which my friend thought were prompted by an over-great anxiety for the interests of the classes as opposed to masses. But there was more in the fear I then expressed than a superficial examination revealed. I observed further that, even to the very people for whose benefit the measure was intended, compulsory primary education would not prove a blessing. Nothing has happened since then to induce me to change my opinion. Authorities who are expected to be in touch with the feelings of the rural population and to be acquainted with the conditions of rural life have come to the same conclusion in regard to the effect of the proposed legislation upon the scholars and upon village economy. For an instance, the District Officer of Ghazipur remarks—

'The provisions of section 6 aim a blow at many industries in which parents depend on the co-operation of their children. Previous experience has shown that the injury to such industries will be more than temporary, because the educated child despises, and in most cases desires to depart from, his traditional occupation, for which in most cases he is no whit better fitted by having received an elementary education.'

"The establishment of night schools has been suggested for the protection of the interests of agriculture and other industries. But that will not remove the danger noted above. The suggestion is likewise untenable. The enervating influence of a tropical climate is ignored. A system which may work well in cold countries where nerve power can stand much greater strain is wholly unsuited in India.

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"But this is not the only objection to compulsion. The mass of opinions received by Government show clearly that there is at present throughout the country an unsatisfied demand for elementary education.

"The Burma Government is of the same opinion :

'The Burmans, who form the bulk of the population, are quite alive to the advantages of education, and display no reluctance to send their boys to the nearest monastic school.'

"Lieutenant-Colonel Strickland, Commissioner of the Mandalay Division, says :—

'The difficulty here is not to get pupils for schools but to get the necessary funds to establish suitable schools and provide capable schoolmasters. Given a useful elementary school in every village, pupils would soon be forthcoming.'

"The District Inspector of Schools of Amritsar testifies to the same popular eagerness to send boys to school :—

'Our schools at present are overfull; the demand for the opening of more schools is insistent. . . . Accommodation is everywhere cramped and unsuitable. . . . Give the people a good school under a competent and sympathetic teacher,—they are sure to send their children.'

"The Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces very forcibly exposes the unsuitability of the Bill :

'It is idle to talk about education being made compulsory when the number of schools is so deficient that the one-mile distance limit will exempt more than half the children of the country side. . . . Any funds that are available can be better devoted to . . . diffusion than to compulsion, which means merely the concentration of funds for the education of the few at the expense of the many.'

"My Lord, the whole question is really a question of funds. Given the money, well-attended schools can be started all over the country. There is a chronic difficulty for funds. It is useless introducing compulsion when the people are themselves anxious to send their children to school, and the backwardness of the country in the matter of education is mainly due to absence of educational facilities and not to any inherent repugnance to education. We must provide efficient schools in sufficient number in both towns and villages before we think of compelling unwilling parents to send their boys to school. According to Balfour's *Educational Systems*, in 1892 schools were accessible to practically all children in Ireland, whereas in India to-day we have, on an average, only one school in an area of eleven square miles. Sufficiency of school accommodation is now the desideratum, and that cannot be ensured until we have more money. The application of the proposed measure to municipal areas, instead of providing a satisfactory solution of the real difficulty, only accentuates it by starving education in rural areas even more than at present, and thereby aggravating the evil. As the Second Financial Commissioner of the Punjab points out—

'The system of local option proposed under this Bill is that it must tend to the encouragement of education precisely where it is already most advanced, while leaving the backward tracts in *statu quo*, thus exaggerating existing inequalities.'

"Mr. Sly, the sympathetic Commissioner of Berar, also refers to the danger :

'The effect of the Bill would be to concentrate and increase education in particular towns or areas by the use of compulsion instead of meeting the present voluntary demand which is more widespread.'

"Furthermore, it should be carefully borne in mind that compulsion at this stage may produce the very opposite result of setting the people's backs up against education. Sir Reginald Craddock, in his thoughtful opinion on the Bill, made a point of—

'the very first principle of human nature . . . to like doing what it desires, and to dislike being made to do what it dislikes.'

"There is great force in the observation. The success of compulsion in other countries, on which Mr. Gokhale has framed his scheme, has been challenged by



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both official and non-official critics in so reasoned a way as to force conviction. Mr. Gokhale himself admitted last year that in Japan greater reliance was placed upon moral pressure. And that is a country which shows the largest attendance on record. In Baroda, according to the Baroda Administration Report for 1909-1910, the compulsory system 'is by no means an assured success.' The Report refers to the 'partial failure of the compulsory progress.' In that year there were 17,336 applications for exemption and 7,408 convictions for default. In the latest report, Mr. Seddon, the Dewan, says 'As regards compulsory education, the situation is dangerous. I do not feel at all easy about it. I do not know much of Sangli where they say that compulsory education has been introduced, but I will be glad if there too, after some time, we do not hear similar reports.' In this country we have bitter experience of compulsion in connection with measures for the prevention of plague. Besides, the experience of more advanced countries is an unsafe guide here in India, which is sadly deficient in school accommodation, teachers and the right sort of men to serve on Attendance Committees. It is well known that in England tuition in elementary schools is more in the hands of ladies. Several generations will pass before we have here an equally favourable condition.

"Putting aside all other objections, the cost of a satisfactory scheme of compulsory education, which must be *free*, for a vast country like India, is so enormous that it cannot be said to be within the range of practical politics. Unless Government undertakes to pay for it, even at a big place like Nagpur, we cannot introduce compulsory elementary education immediately even though the municipality has every desire to loyally carry out Mr. Gokhale's wishes. We have a total population there of 130,000 inhabitants, of whom 19,500 must be children of school-going age. Half the number, 9,750, must be children between six and ten years of age. The annual cost of providing elementary education for this number would be too great for the present resources of the municipality. This charge that body will be hopelessly unfit to bear at least for some years to come. And yet Nagpur is an industrial centre, with mills and ginning factories. Additional taxation at a heavy rate only can yield the necessary amount; but that is not feasible. The present rates, as they are, are much felt by the people. Only a week ago Mr. Gokhale himself pointed out that the proportion of total taxation, imperial and local, to the national income in the United Kingdom, France and India was approximately the same. He said:

'Now if they took the total national income in the three countries, they would find, and it was a remarkable coincidence, that in each country the total taxation burden borne by the people for central and local purposes together amounted to about 11 or 12 per cent. of the total income.'

"Any suggestion of fresh taxation in a poor country like India cannot under the circumstances be seriously entertained. There is a general feeling that the money should be found by the Government of India. Even the Collector of Satara says:—

'When once there is a general desire, the cost should be borne chiefly by the State as in England.'

"The Bombay Corporation make a similar suggestion. But can the Government do this in the present state of its finances? I shall be sincerely happy if it does; but there is small hope it will in the near future, with due regard to its other duties.

"Moreover, it is a question if, after all, so large an expenditure should be incurred, perhaps at the expense of the other legitimate duties of the local bodies. Doubts have been expressed about the utility of rudimentary knowledge among the working classes. Agricultural labour, far from improving, deteriorates in quality also from disregard to irksome details and want of application which association in early life with better classes of people, absence of manual labour during a long period and the vitiated taste for ease inseparable from school education produce in the recipient. Western experience

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shews that the educated mechanic is not necessarily the most efficient. The *Pioneer*, in its issue of 1st February last, observed :—

‘ Even at the present time, the highly-trained and educated German mechanic cannot bear comparison with a similar class of mechanic in England who has less learning but much greater skill; and in Belgium, where industries are comparatively more flourishing than in Germany, there is a high rate of illiteracy among workmen..... “Theoretical education,” Von Steinbeis says, “has been given such a preponderance that even in our smallest workshops the pedantic spirit of the school penetrates the air, a spirit which is absent in countries which have arrived at a higher stage of industrial development than Germany.”’

“This should set us to ponder awhile. Dr. Albert Wilson, in his *Unfinished Man*, again, makes a pointed reference to the physical deterioration of the schoolboy in England. He says :

‘ One of our greatest authorities on education writes to me thus :

“I am convinced very few realise the enormous change for the better which has come about during the last few years in our elementary schools; but from debility, deficient sleep, defective clothing and food, overwork out of school, etc., the children are unfit for any kind of disciplined intellectual work.”’

“He also says :—

‘ Under the compulsory system, the unwilling and incapable children are compelled to attend school and break under the stress.’

“My Lord, I have read somewhere that child labour is cheap in England, and there are plenty of people willing to hire it; the result is that children, even during the time they are at school, are employed for extravagant hours at infinitesimal wages. As soon as they can satisfy His Majesty’s Inspector of their capacity in the fifth standard or such higher standard as the local authority prescribes, they enter into some unskilled employment like that of the errand boy; and by the time they are 18 or 19 years of age, they, having learnt no trade, are ripe to join the ranks of the unemployed.

“My Lord, another great disadvantage we in India labour under is the absence of cheap healthy literature. The stuff that now passes through the cheap Press and is greedily devoured by people with only elementary knowledge infects their minds with unwholesome ideas of individual and communal duty. In Burma, where, of all Indian Provinces, primary education has shown the greatest progress, the evil is notorious, and the Burmese Deputy Commissioner of Kyaukpadaung has remarked :

‘ One result of the spread of education in this country is that many girls and boys spend most of their time in reading the useless songs and story books which are sold broadcast all over the country, which encourage superstition and neglect their more useful objects of life.’

“The problem is thus not free from complications, and however much one may desire to encourage the spread of knowledge for its own sake among the masses, it behoves us to take proper precautions to divert the mind into healthy channels of thought, to arrest physical deterioration and to prevent the decay of individual virtue through disuse and indiscriminate study.

“Moreover, my Lord, Government is determined to spend largely on primary education, of which the Durbar grants and grants made in the Budget gave uncontrovertible proof. It is doubtful whether under these circumstances compulsion is essentially necessary. The process of evolution must be slow, steady and gradual.”

The Hon’ble Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey : “I beg to support the motion of my Hon’ble friend Mr. Gokhale, who had called attention to the fact that the Bill had received a remarkable volume of support from the non-official community, both Hindu and Muhammadan. He has pointed out that the opposition to the measure has come almost entirely from the officials and the Local Governments. I am surprised that this should be the case, because the subject with which we are dealing is not one which affects the prestige or the powers of Government. It is acknowledged on all hands that the greatest danger to good government arises from the ignorance of the masses. I cannot help being reminded of a curious parallel when I think of the attitude of Government towards this Bill. Government have passed



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laws and adopted measures to protect the raiyats against the consequences of their ignorance in their transactions with moneylenders and landlords. I need only name some of these measures on this occasion. They are all well-known and much discussed measures. On the Bombay side we have notable instance in the Dekkhan Agriculturists' Relief Act which empowers Government to release forfeited land on a limited tenure. In the Punjab we have the Land Alienation Act designed to prevent land passing out of the possession of the cultivating classes. I believe that the Courts also are authorised to go behind the letter of the contracts to which cultivators are parties in order that no undue advantage is taken of their ignorance. All these are measures necessitated by the illiteracy and consequent helplessness of the masses. But though Government have done so much to protect the illiterate masses, they are reluctant to adopt the only effective means of removing the root cause of their helplessness, namely, their illiteracy. This reminds me, as I said, of the physician who went on prescribing for the symptoms of his patient, quinine for malaria, opium for diarrhoea, and some other medicine for headache, while the root cause of the ailments, namely, residence in a malarial swamp, was totally neglected. If he had simply advised his patient to remove to a healthier locality, he might have spared himself all the trouble and the patient the suffering and the expense. Government are ready to interfere with the freedom of contract and to spend lakhs of rupees in measures to prevent other people from cheating the raiyats. But they fight shy of a very modest Bill such as that of my Hon'ble friend to make the raiyat able to take care of his own interests without extraneous assistance. Can it be denied that if our raiyats were not so hopelessly illiterate, some at least of these measures would be unnecessary? Is there any doubt that in so far as the provisions of this Bill are found capable of application to any particular locality, in that locality there is bound to be a steady diminution of illiteracy in course of time? I should like here to guard myself against a possible misunderstanding. I do not for a moment question the anxiety of the present Government to promote measures for the rapid spread of education. No one can do so after the substantial proofs which Government have given by their liberal grants and after the striking statement of the Hon'ble the Finance Member who told us of Your Excellency's heartfelt interest in education. What I respectfully urge upon this Council is this: that in every other civilized country purely voluntary measures, however liberally supported by Government, have proved ineffective in bringing about real mass education, and that it is high time we made a beginning in the direction of the compulsory principle. Of course, it is said, that the country is not ready for a Bill of this kind. My contention, on the other hand, is that you can never know whether the country is ready or not except by means of a measure of this kind. At present there is only the bare statement of the local officials against the weighty testimony of, I think I am right in saying, the majority of the elected representatives of the people in this Council. My Hon'ble friend does not ask that compulsory education should be introduced at once throughout the country. He has provided ample opportunities for Local Governments to determine whether the provisions of the Bill should be applied or not to any place, and it would be impossible to apply those provisions to any place against the wishes of local authorities. What more can the local authorities desire? Surely it cannot be seriously contended that there is not a single suitable locality in the whole Indian Empire, after a century of British rule, where the experiment can be tried. I may take this opportunity of assuring this Council that it is not through any lack of appreciation of the excellent work of Local Governments in the educational field that I make these remarks. In my own Presidency, for instance, educational questions have largely occupied the time and attention of His Excellency Sir George Clarke, and I am sure I am echoing the sentiments of the Bombay Presidency when I say that His Excellency's labours for the advancement of education of all kinds have earned for him the undying gratitude of the public. If the Bill be allowed to go before a Select Committee, any further alterations and improvements that may be suggested by or on behalf of local authorities

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can be considered. I may say from my personal experience of the co-operative movement that, at the present moment, it is the want of education that prevents the masses from taking full advantage of the beneficent measures of Government. I do not wish to detain the Council with my remarks on the advantages of the Bill, the fate of which has perhaps been already settled by the Hon'ble the Education Member. In conclusion, I will only say that it will be a great disappointment to many hundreds, not to say thousands, of intelligent, educated and responsible citizens outside this Council if this extremely cautious and moderate Bill were to be rejected by us in deference to, I admit, the strong but not very weighty oppositions of the Local Governments."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar :** "My Lord, it was not with a little surprise that I listened to the speeches of my two hon'ble friends who come from the same province that I do. I say I was surprised, because I have before me the expression of opinion of bodies to which both of them belong and over which one of them presides. The Nagpur Municipality, in a resolution which was passed in July when both of them were present, stated distinctly that it approved of the principles of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, while my friend the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis who has been just now speaking expressed views which, if logically carried out, would mean the stoppage of education as they imply that education is an evil and is likely to produce very deleterious effects all over the country."

**The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis :** "I did not say that. I only said with regard to my Municipality that it would not be able to introduce the provisions of the Bill immediately for want of resources."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar :—**"My friend just now made remarks about the debilitating and enervating effects of education generally."

**The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis :** "I only pointed out, my Lord, what had been said about compulsory education in England. I only read those extracts."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar :** "I do not suppose this explanation will at all affect the correctness of what I said. To resume my argument: the Nagpur Municipality said that elementary education should be free and compulsory as laid down in the Bill, that as regards clause 18 (2) (b) there is room for a difference of opinion as to whether any portion of the expenditure should be borne by the Local Government or not. [I may parenthetically point out that nothing has been said at all about exemption being granted to local bodies.] My friend's Committee's resolution proceeds to say that so far as the Nagpur Municipality is concerned, it hopes to see elementary education free in Nagpur within a few years without having recourse to Government for financial assistance, but if clause 18 (2) (b) becomes law then free education could be introduced here much sooner. The District Council said that the Council accepted generally the provisions of the Bill, but suggest the incorporation of certain provisions which in no way at all affect the principles of the Bill."

"Mr. Dadabhoi also said that the country has pronounced against the Bill. My Lord, if there is any measure of recent times which has received a practically universal support—call it merely a great support—so far as the people of this country are concerned, it is this measure. The Hindus, by an overwhelming majority, have accorded their support to it. The Muhammadans too, the majority of them, are entirely in favour. The National Indian Congress, as my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has pointed out, has given its views in an unmistakable manner; and the All-India Moslem League has on two occasions pronounced very clearly in favour of free and compulsory education. Its latest pronouncement was made in this city only a fortnight ago. With these statements before us of these two chief representative bodies, of local bodies, of political associations, of educational associations, I do not understand how those who say that the measure has been received with disapproval in the country—how they can support their position. My Lord, it is true that there



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has been some opposition, even from non-official classes, but the figures which have been given by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and which have not been and cannot be challenged, demonstrate that the bulk of the population is entirely in favour of the measure. Most of the opposition is based on a misconception, the misconception being—that it is the object of this Bill, that it is the scope of this Bill, to apply immediately the principle of compulsory education throughout the country. All the arguments which have been advanced against the Bill proceed on this assumption, that the Bill is to have general application all through at once. That is an entire misconception of the nature of the measure. The measure wants Government to proceed in a tentative manner and on a small scale. It is in recognition of the peculiar circumstances of India that this method has been adopted. We have from the Punjab Government the statement that there is, among the majority of the people of the Province, a disinclination not only against compulsory education, but against education of any kind whatsoever. My Lord, the statement comes from a high authority and I have to respectfully bow to it. On the other hand, I might mention that a paper which voices the opinion of the Muhammadan community says that it would be a great mistake to say that the Muhammadans did not accept the principles of the Bill which Mr. Gokhale has brought forward. Whatever be the opinion of the Punjab people as understood by the Punjab Government, there is no reason why the Punjab people should set the pace for other parts of the country. The fact is, here in the papers which Government have published, the clearest evidence that in various parts of the country demand has been made for education and that the demand is spreading. In one of the opinions,—a most thoughtful opinion—given by a gentleman who is not a Brahmin and who, so far as I know, has not associated himself with political movements like the Indian National Congress or the Provincial Conferences, a gentleman who also holds that the Bill is not wanted in the present circumstances of the country, is the admission of the great wave of enthusiasm which has swept over the country and of the demand for schools which is increasing more and more. We have therefore from the opponents of the Bill this testimony beyond question, that the supposed circumstances of the Punjab, where education is not at all wanted, is not typical of the circumstances in other parts of the country. That education is wanted in these parts and should be spread is recognized by Government, and Government themselves have been making provision for it. The opposition to the Bill has been very aptly described by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale as falling under certain categories which he has described. I shall not go into the matter again, but shall only deal with one or two of the objections which are brought forward. My friend the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoi, even while expressing his deep sympathy with the principle of free and compulsory education in the abstract, has drawn for us a lurid picture of the dissatisfaction which would be created throughout the country, of the great burden of taxation which would be thrown on the people and of other hardships that would arise, under the working of the Bill. My Lord, all these dreadful results rest evidently on the assumption, which he himself puts forward, that the thing has to be worked on no other than what he calls a comprehensive basis. It is one of the favourite devices resorted to, when a scheme of reform is introduced, by which the reform is sought to be killed. If you want to stave off any reform, say that the reform will not do any good unless it is introduced on the largest scale possible, and then the next moment dilate upon the serious consequences which would result by its general operation. The same device was adopted in regard to the suggestions of the people about the expansion of these Councils. At that time it was stated that unless power was given to all the people in all the different parts of the country to send in representatives, representative Councils could not at all be properly said to be given to the country, and for this the masses were not ready. The Government, however, recognized that an advance was necessary and that the advance must be a cautious and tentative one. The same methods and the same principles have to be followed now. It being admitted on all hands that education for the masses is necessary, that the rural tracts cannot at all aspire to make progress unless the agriculturist is thoroughly taught, and that industrial progress,

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which is a great desideratum, cannot be achieved except through mass education, and Government having accepted the principle that great advances have to be made, the question arises whether in those tracts where universal education can be introduced, the time has not come for an attempt to be made. There are figures and statistics to show that in such a backward tract, comparatively speaking, as the Central Provinces and Berar, very great advances have been made in recent times. The Commissioner of Berar states that in one town—Amraoti—51 per cent. of the school-going male population is actually under instruction, and in Akola it is 49. In the district of Balaghat in the Central Provinces, the proportion of school boys to the male population of school-going age in the whole of that district is 34·4. So here is clear evidence of the interest which is being taken by the people in the matter of education. Those are places and tracts where certainly an attempt can be safely made. The large expenditure of which so much is made would become necessary only if you at once introduce free and compulsory education into all the areas, irrespective of whether the people are willing or are sufficiently advanced or not. If however you begin cautiously, there is no reason why it should be beyond the resources of the local bodies or of the Government. In reference to this a curious argument was brought forward by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, an argument which has also been urged by others also. It is said that it would not be fair to impose any education rate. My Lord, my friend and those who have pronounced their benediction upon free and compulsory education, if they are really serious, if they are really sincere in their professions about free and compulsory education . . . . .

**The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :** "I am sorry, my Lord, to interrupt my Hon'ble friend. I can assure him that I am as sincere as he himself is."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar :** "I say if my Hon'ble friend and others who take his stand are serious and sincere, then they must be prepared to put their hands in their pockets. It is no use talking of free and compulsory education if one is not prepared to make any sacrifices."

"It is the duty of the Imperial Government to find money and it is equally the duty of the local bodies. It is no use asking for free and compulsory education if we do not find the money which is required for the purpose. After all, even if we take the figures as given by some of them, what is the amount which would be required to be locally raised for making this beginning? It would be at the most an imposition of just one pice in the rupee like other local cesses, and this would give us an education cess which would satisfy the purpose and meet all the requirements of the present. I understand that a proposal has gone forward from the Central Provinces Government that non-agricultural incomes also should be taxed for education as is the land of the raiyat. It is a very good suggestion, and I do not see why it should not be accepted if there is no other method of proceeding in the matter."

"My Lord, the method which has been suggested by the Bill is one in which responsibility for the adoption of compulsion is taken off the shoulders of Government and put on the shoulders of the people, that is, upon those men of the people who will turn to them and ask whether their localities are or are not sufficiently advanced to make an experiment in the matter. There are two safeguards. First of all, the local bodies are to find part of the money, and most of them, consisting as they do of elected members, will not even venture to put forward a proposal for increased taxation unless the support of the bulk of the people is assured. The second thing is that they will have to obtain the sanction of the Local Government before the experiment is made. These are safeguards which will prevent hasty and ill-considered action."

"My friend the Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas Thackersey has referred to the agricultural classes. I have a word to say about these. If any real attempts are to be made for making them more capable than at present, the first thing to do is to spread far and wide elementary education to such an extent at least as to enable every one of them to read the leaflets and pamphlets which are issued for enlightening them in matters agricultural."



## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

[Mr. Mudholkar ; Nawab Abdul Majid.] [18TH MARCH 1912.]

"My Lord, now that there is a great enthusiasm for education, should we not make attempts from now to establish this principle of universal education in localities which are fitted for this purpose?"

The Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid : "My Lord, while fully sympathising with the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and the laudable object with which the Bill has been introduced, I regret to say that I cannot support it. The circumstances of India are such, that a law like that which the Bill embraces will not be of much benefit to the people of India as a whole. When the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale had moved a Resolution on compulsory education in 1910, I was one who had opposed him then. After two years of mature consideration, I am still of opinion that, unless safeguards are provided by which Muhammadan education on the lines in which the Muhammadan boys are educated at present, is secured to them, the Bill as it stands, instead of doing good to them, will cause a great deal of harm to them. Speaking of my Province, where the Muhammadan element is not strongly represented in educational institutions, the result of passing this Bill into law will be that the death-blow will be dealt to the Urdu language. Already a Urdu-Hindi controversy is raging bitterly in the United Provinces, and attempts are made—I say determined attempts—to create a Hindi language full of Sanscrit words, which, it is said, will some day replace the Urdu altogether. Suppose, if education is made free and compulsory, is it not natural that those determined to replace Urdu by Hindi will try their best to teach Muhammadan boys a Hindi language, which is disliked by a Muhammadan. So I say that, unless it is distinctly provided that Muhammadans will have the same kind of education which is acceptable to them, I for one am of opinion that the Bill in its present form will not benefit the Muhammadans. Then, again, will these schools, where the proposed elementary education will be imparted, give any religious education or not. The Bill does not say anything about the religious education, and so I understand it has no concern with the religious education. The consequence then will be that a Muhammadan boy will have to give up his religious education, and be compelled to attend a recognized school under the Bill. To a Muhammadan the first ideal is, to be a true Muhammadan, and this can be attained only if a boy in his early ages is given a good, proper religious education. A Muhammadan boy is generally taught first *Koran Shareef*, and some Urdu religious works. All this will be lost to him in a recognized school. But it may be said that these will be secular schools only, and the Muhammadan boys can be excused on religious grounds. Let us look to the result of this argument. It will be this, that those who do not care for religion so much, will get a State secular education at the expense of those who will not attend the recognized schools. Taxes will have to be paid by all, but only one community will gain the advantage. A Muhammadan boy then should either give up his religious education to attend these recognized schools, or if he does not attend them then he must give up the advantages of these schools. If the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale had provided in his Bill that adequate provision will be made for sectarian education, then probably many Muhammadans will have given him their unqualified support. The machinery in the shape of a school attendance Committee provided in the Bill to watch the working of the Act (if passed into law) is also one which is full of danger. The first question arises about the constitution of these Committees. How will they be constituted? What will be the number of Muhammadans on such a Committee? Will they be in a minority? If they will be in a minority, the opinion of the majority must prevail, and the minority and their interest must suffer. I submit these are the difficulties which must be faced and solved before the Bill is passed into law. Free and compulsory education in a country of homogenous race and religion may be of some good to the country; but in a country like India, which embraces diverse races and creeds, I venture to submit is an experiment which is full of danger and difficulties. Leaving the sectarian question aside, will a compulsory education be liked by the masses of the people? Will they not resent the Act, and its application to them? Will they not lay blame on the Government and say that the law has been promulgated to deprive them of their children, and of the benefits of their services? My Lord, those who know the Indian life can well picture

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the commotion which will arise in the country if compulsion is resorted to, and the boys are hunted and captured to be marched to schools. Compulsion will be a source of great discontent among the people. The mass of the people will throw the whole responsibility upon the Government of the country. Some will say that this is a step to convert them; some will say that Sircar is going to deprive them of their bread; some will say that they are going to be prevented from learning their traditional and hereditary occupation. Of course, I know that there are great many men of my own community who favour compulsion. But who are they? They are people who have never freely mixed with the common people, they do not know their feelings, and I venture to say are not in a position to give their opinion on the probable effect which will be produced on the mass of the people if compulsion is resorted to. I fully endorse the opinion of the United Provinces Muslim League when it says that 'The prevailing opinion appeared to be that the propagation of the scheme was not so important as to ignore the embarrassment of the Government and the resentment of the public.' Government will be held responsible for all. In a country like India, where masses are swayed by rumours, I beg to submit that it is highly dangerous to introduce any element of compulsion in any measure which may have the effect of influencing the masses in their daily life. India is a country highly conservative in all its traditions and callings. To interfere with these by compulsory legislation will be highly detrimental. My Lord, educational policy in this country should be one of persuasion and not of compulsion. The most prudent step will be to spread education by multiplying schools all over the country with the resources which may be ready at hand. Popularise education first, and then compel those who are refractory to learn. In a country where nearly ninety-four per cent. of the people are illiterate, it will be nothing short of producing a revolution to compel with one sweeping order the people of a locality to give up their daily avocations and attend the schools. Whether the people be living in towns or in villages, my humble opinion is that compulsion will be disliked by all. My Lord, I am entirely against the introduction of compulsion in India. If there are sufficient funds forthcoming elementary education may be made free. But while supporting the policy of the education being made free, I again submit that even then the Muhammadan interests must be safeguarded. I say even then, their cherished Urdu language must be preserved to them and that their religious teachings imparted in their Maktabas to their boys must be secured to them.

"My Lord, the next question is the question of funds. It will not be denied that if education is made free and compulsory, a much wider educational machinery will have to be created. Teachers by thousands will have to be appointed, hundreds of school buildings will have to be erected, and other necessities like books, maps, etc., will have to be provided for. In order to meet these expenses, a very large amount of money must be found somewhere. The present revenue of India will surely be insufficient to meet these demands. But money will have to be found, and the only source available will be taxation. An educational tax will have to be levied. But the question is, who will pay it? Assuming, for the sake of argument, that Government makes up its mind to raise these millions which education will demand by taxation, which class of people will you tax? Certainly not zamindars and the tenants. Land is already heavily taxed. Tenants are living from hand to mouth. A single failure of crops lands us in famine and starvation. Already in many places zamindars and tenants pay a school tax. Speaking of my own Benares Division, we already pay a school tax in the shape of madarsana. Zamindars and tenants will raise a howl all over India, and object with as much force as lies in them to pay such a tax. A tenant who will lose the services of his boy, who will see that his boy instead of being a good husbandman is going to be an idle clerk (for after education agriculture is sure to be given up), will certainly not appreciate the sympathies underlying this Bill and will never willingly pay an education tax. I say, therefore, my Lord, that if land is taxed with education tax, zamindars and tenants will never like to pay it. If compelled to pay such a tax, it will be



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an additional wound inflicted on them. It will be a source of grave discontent among the landed classes. Now remain those who cannot be classed among the landed classes. These, I submit, will be the people who are likely to be benefited, if benefited at all by free and compulsory education. I venture to submit, therefore, that these people should be called to contribute largely towards the education tax. I mean, if large demands for funds for education come into existence, then these people ought to pay the tax. But the demand will be so large that any tax levied, and the amount realised from it, will never be able to meet the demand. I never forget that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale wants free and compulsory education to be introduced gradually. But the ultimate object is the introduction of such an education universally throughout the whole of India—and any opinion which is to be formed must be formed with reference to such an ultimate object. Before we agree to this vast educational project we must consider and weigh all the consequences beforehand.

“My Lord, the last subject that I wish to bring to the notice of this Council is the labour question, which is sure to come into existence if education is made compulsory, and it is sure to have serious effect on the landed classes in this country. When the mass of the people are educated, the agriculturists, labourers and artizan classes will at once commence to dislike their present condition. They will consider themselves to have risen to a higher level. Many will give up their hereditary trade and profession, and will either go in for services or some other profession higher than the one they had been pursuing hitherto. The Government of India and the landed classes will then be put to face a dangerous labour problem. Socialistic ideas, which are absent from our country, are bound to come into existence. The people who are in affluent circumstances will be looked upon with envious eyes. Their wealth will be considered to be illegal gains which will be considered to be fit to be divided among all. Wages will go up, and discontent will increase. Every sort of agitation which always follows in the train of discontent will spring up. Instead of controlling town agitation, Government will have to devote its energies to control agitation in villages—a much wider area and most difficult to control. I need not enlarge further. I submit that the labour problem is one which should not be forgotten when we are considering this Bill. In conclusion, I beg to submit, that let it not be understood from my remarks that in principle I am against compulsory education altogether. The idea as an abstract principle is a good one, but the country is not ripe for it. My Lord, I submit that just as a cultivator prepares and enriches a soil before he sows in it, in like manner let us first prepare the ground for the introduction of such an advanced scheme. Let us first make India one homogeneous country. Let us sink our differences first. When we are in such a state that all Indians have one aspiration and one desire, and one community has no desire to steal a march on the other, then is the proper time for the introduction of such a measure. I agree entirely with the opinion of His Honour Sir Leslie Porter, the late Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, when His Honour says ‘That the introduction of the principle of compulsion which underlies the whole Act is an impossible principle to apply to the people of these parts. Such introduction is not only impracticable, it is fraught with serious danger. The people of this Province view with an apprehension which may easily tend to develop into sullen resentment, and in many places into violent opposition, any attempt to force or to alter the actions of their daily lives. This feature is especially noticeable in the agricultural tracts which form the majority, but it is sufficiently marked in the towns. Before a measure which compels a man to send his child to school irrespective of his own wishes can be considered to have any prospect of success, it will be necessary to create a desire in the majority of parents that their children should obtain some form of elementary education. When that desire has become fairly universal, compulsion may be adopted as a statesmanlike measure to bring laggards and malcontents within the fold. But until the mass of public opinion is in favour of primary education, compulsion will retard instead of accelerate the progress that is sought.’ I endorse the view expressed here unreservedly. This view is expressed here after due consideration of the circumstances existing in the country. It is not a mere imaginative or a sentimental view. It is no

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use that I should quote any more opinions. What I say is, that anybody who will approach the question with an unbiassed mind and with full consciousness of his responsibilities cannot help arriving at the conclusion that the Bill is premature and that the country is not ripe for it. My Lord, I oppose the Bill in its present shape."

**The Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan:** "My Lord, when I came into the Council chamber to-day, I thought of opposing this Bill on larger grounds than I intend to oppose now. The reason of this change of view on my part is that some of the arguments that have been put forward against the Bill have not convinced me. It is true that I do not think that in India at the present moment we can have compulsory education on the lines that Mr. Gokhale wishes to have; but, on the other hand, there cannot be the slightest doubt that we cannot keep the masses ignorant for ever, and as the Government have already taken up the question of mass education, it is necessary for the Government itself to consider what steps it ought to take besides making grants to Local Governments for the dissemination of mass education. The three principal reasons offered in opposition to this measure are that the time has not come for compulsion, that the want of funds will be a standing difficulty, and that thirdly fresh taxation will be resented, and I must say that I am myself against this fresh taxation. I do not say that a day may not come to India when we, however so much we may dislike this fresh taxation, may have to give in; but at present that occasion has not arisen. Moreover, what I say is, that there is still enough ground for voluntary primary education. I know, for instance, that in Bengal many guru training schools were started, and many schools in rural areas started, which had to be closed for want of interest and want of students as well as teachers. Of course, here Mr. Gokhale will probably say that we will be able to get over this difficulty by compulsion. What I say is, that when there is this apathy at present among the masses towards compulsion we are rather liable to bring antipathy against the Government instead of in any way meeting or realising the objects that Mr. Gokhale has in view. I am sorry that I have had to speak against the Bill. Had I not known the attitude of the Government regarding the throwing out of the Bill at this stage, I would personally have supported the motion that the Bill be considered in Select Committee, but knowing that, and having expressed my own views, I am sorry I have to withhold my support to the Bill; but in withholding this support I should like to assure Mr. Gokhale that although for certain reasons I am opposed to certain of the principles embodied in the Bill, I congratulate him on his patriotism in bringing forward this Bill, and I am sure that a Primary Education Bill in some form or other is destined to be passed in India before very long."

**The Hon'ble Raja of Kurupam:** "My Lord, I beg to support the motion. In doing so, however, I do not desire to be understood as saying that the Government should immediately proceed to pass a general Act legalising compulsory education in the country. It seems to me that the present conditions of the country are hardly favourable for the successful introduction of compulsion. The difficulties of language, religion and caste, the inability of the masses from their extreme poverty and ignorance to appreciate and avail themselves of the opportunities for their elevation afforded by the proposed measure, the dissatisfaction and confusion which are very likely to be caused by the sudden withdrawal of the children of the poorer classes from their ordinary occupations, and the inevitable prosecutions and fines incidental to the enforcement of the compulsory attendance of such children at schools, the financial responsibilities involved in the adoption of the measure, render, in my opinion, the enforcement of the system for some time to come unwise and its success extremely doubtful. Moreover, though there has been almost universal acceptance of the principle of the Bill throughout the country, there has not been anything like such unanimity; on the contrary, there has been great divergence of opinion about the methods proposed in the Bill to attain the object in view. The provisions contained in the Bill in this behalf empower every Municipality



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or Local Board, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, to introduce compulsory and partially free education in its area and to levy a special education tax for that purpose, and power is given to the Governor General in Council to fix the proportions in which the cost is to be divided between Municipality, Board and Government. Now, the levy of fees, while making education compulsory and the special education tax have met with very strong opposition in many quarters. There is again the fear expressed by very competent authorities that the initiative, which is left in the hands of the District and Local Boards, will work unsatisfactorily and unequally in practice. In these circumstances, it is my humble conviction that persuasion rather than compulsion is for some time to come the most proper method of diffusing education among the masses. It is necessary, I think, that education should become popular, and should be made entirely free, before it is made compulsory, among the masses. The analogy afforded by the working of the compulsory system in Western countries is no safe guide for us in this country whose conditions are so widely different. Rather, we may with profit watch the working of the system in Baroda, where it has been in vogue for several years, and from my knowledge of the state of things there, I am unable to persuade myself that the system in that Province has been found to be attended with anything like the success that was expected of it.

"But when all is said against the immediate introduction of compulsory education in this country, it is impossible to withhold one's sympathy with the aim of the Bill. There can be no doubt whatever that the great need of the country at present is the rapid diffusion of good, sound primary education among the lower classes, the adoption by the Government of a definite policy by which the number of schools may be increased from year to year, with a view to pave the way for the introduction at some future time of compulsion throughout the country. The education of the poor and ignorant is, I need hardly urge before Your Excellency, one of the most imperative duties, as it is the most sacred privilege, of the Government. The principle of free and compulsory Primary Education, though, as I believe, there are vast difficulties in the way of its being carried out in practice at present in India, is the ideal which the Government should put forth every effort to realise slowly but steadily. If the attainment of this ideal in the near future in this country is imperative, then the Government will gain and not lose by allowing the Bill to go on to a Select Committee, as a thorough examination by a Committee of the methods embodied in the Bill will be greatly helpful to the Government in carrying out the very sympathetic policy in regard to popular education to which they have properly committed themselves, even within the very short period of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Madge :** "My Lord, it is as a warm supporter of primary education for a considerable number of years that I venture to say that the Hon'ble mover has not taken the wisest and most practical course in order to secure his own object. In fact, in my humble opinion, he has put the cart before the horse. Before trying to show this, my Lord, I should like to say that I shall avoid imputing motives either to the opponents or to the supporters of this Bill. But, if it is quite conceivable that a class of persons is intimidated by official frowns and encouraged by official smiles, it is also not inconceivable that there is a larger class of persons who secure a kind of artificial popularity by always acting against the Government. I say this in no offensive terms. I think it is natural for progressive people to look upon Governments as conservative, and they feel that they are bound to oppose them in order to get anything. That view may not be a wise one, but I make the remark to show that although there are some who oppose the Government on principle, there need be nothing objectionable in doing so. I wish, my Lord, to say that the arguments that have been brought forward, as I have already hinted, seem to me to put the cart before the horse. What is it that we want most in this country? We want, in the first place, teachers. Suppose every local institution in this country were to get permission to sanction, and sanctioned, what the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale wants, who would teach the persons that he wants taught? One of the first needs of this country

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is a normal college and a normal school, not only for training the higher class of teachers, but also for training the very lowest class of teachers. In the next place, we want schools built in places where they ought to be built. Now, as to the selection of these sites, a great deal of importance has been attached to what has been called the volume of evidence in favour of this Bill. There are questions, my Lord, in which it is not always the wisest course to count heads. Stress has been laid upon official opposition to this Bill. What does that mean? It means that persons who have a strong sense of their responsibility for the prosperity of the country have reasons of their own for not approving of what has been suggested here. I am not particularly an advocate for the official classes, but I try to see what they are trying to do, and I cannot for the life of me understand why a true measure should not be taken of a large unanimous official opposition to any measure. The officials of this country are trying to do their very best for the people, and if they do not approve of what the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has proposed I cannot imagine all their reasons, but I can imagine some of them. One of them has already been dwelt upon to a certain extent by some previous speakers; and it is this, that the children of the poorer classes help a great deal either in the management of homes while the parents are out or in field labour when the parents are at home. I do not think too much attention can be given to this argument; it is a most important one. Charles Lamb tells us that the children of the poor are adults from their infancy, and the children of the poor in this country are adults from an earlier age than the poor of almost any other country. If I did not know that the Hon'ble Mover and some of his supporters are men who probably understand the country better than myself, I should be surprised at the way in which they look at matters from what I call the standpoint of large cities. It seems to me that any one walking through the villages of this country will soon enough see what the younger members of families are doing. When the Factory Bill was being considered, strong objections were raised to the employment of children after they had been so many hours a day at work. What will be said of the compulsory employment of these children in absolute cramming after they have rendered their proper share of work for domestic purposes? I think these points ought to be taken into consideration, and if the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale had shown how these difficulties were to have been overcome, possibly I should have thought more favourably of his Bill. Then, my Lord, as to the provision of schools, I believe, at least I hope, that the new Education Department will take up that question almost immediately. I am well aware that the despatch of 1854 attaches the greatest importance to primary education; but those who now wish the Government to lavish sums upon primary education also call upon the Government to lavish money upon secondary education. I have been trying to pick up, among my papers and I regret I am not able to find it; but I quote from memory a Resolution of the Government of India during the Home Secretaryship of Sir Alexander Mackenzie in which he pointed out that the Local Governments were not giving its due share to primary education and were giving too much money to secondary education. This is the point which I hope the New Education Department will take up. We have heard a great deal of people being called upon to pay for the education they receive, and I think, my Lord, that it is ample time that the better classes of this country ought to be called upon to pay a great deal more for the high education they receive than they have ever done in the past. Not only would this encourage a kind of manliness among them, but it is good for them to feel—to be taught to feel—that they are paying their way through the world, and not receiving what is in some quarters called charitable contributions for their education. I do not wish to bring in very much about European education, but I do hope that when the schemes of the Government are set before the public something will be said and done to show that a larger proportion of money is given towards European education than has been in the past. I refer to this matter in a strictly relevant way, because I have compared for some years past the proportion of money given to each European scholar and that given to each Indian, and it will be seen how very much smaller the one is than the other. I merely mention this fact as a reason why



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all classes of people in this country should be dealt with fairly and called upon to pay for their education."

**The Hon'ble Malik Umar Hyat Khan:** "My Lord, I came with a prepared speech, but as I find that all the arguments I intended to bring forward have been advanced by different members, I do not think I will read that speech but will merely say what is now uppermost in my mind. Of course I was opposed to this Bill from the outset and my Hon'ble friend and I had a long talk when we were in the garden in Government House, and we decided that I at any rate should not speak at the introduction of the Bill. When I returned home, my Lord, I found that all my people were against me. They did not know, that if I did not oppose the Bill at the outset, that I would be able to do anything afterwards: I however explained to them that I had reserved my opinion and that when I returned to Calcutta I would speak on the subject. I thought, when this Bill was circulated, many people would express their opinion either in favour or against it; but I have now discovered, my Lord, I mean, that when these Bills are circulated for opinion, there is one class who being able to read can discuss their provisions and will always agree. But there are 98 per cent. others who cannot discuss it, and they do nothing as they cannot express their opinions against it. Well, I stand up here for them and say that they are all against it. Supposing we knew how to speak and write, we would not have allowed them to write everything like what they have done. Perhaps in all these opinions that have come here to this Council it would never be found in the papers who were against and who were on the side if we would have sent ours also. Then again, my Lord, now that Your Lordship very kindly said that you are doing your best to help education, so also the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson said, as well as the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Education Department, that everything is being done, and if one is going 16 annas why should one ask for him to go 20 annas? Well, I hope, my Lord, now that my Hon'ble friend knows that Government is doing its best in that direction, I think that the best way is now to withdraw the motion. I do not know whether he will do it. Then again, my Lord, there are certain difficulties. Now, supposing compulsion is forced upon the people who are unwilling from the bottom of their heart, it will be hard for them. It is not always only that they do not like to educate their children, but sometimes they cannot do it. As there are certain such circumstances, I wish my Hon'ble friend went with me to the mufassal to see them; there are all sorts of difficulties to be got over in the mufassal. The things are all right in big places like Calcutta. There are lots of clerks who go in the day and do work and get so much money; then they come home to feed their children and bring money for their family. That is not the case with the agriculturists. Everyone of us has got to work. Little boys take the cattle out, the wife is cooking, the man is ploughing; thus every one has to do something. If a boy was sent to the school, the father of the boy would have many troubles. He would have to send this boy, and perhaps the boy would fall into the hands of some agitator, and perhaps the boy would come back spoilt, also the boy would have to be sent and money would have to be sent as they would have to provide him with food, at the same time the work which the boy had been doing would have to be carried on by other men. In these days many people are going out of India and labour has become very dear and sometimes it is not possible to get men. Then how is the work of the agriculturist to be carried out? That is practically impossible. Then again, my Lord, there are boys who if they really can go to school, and the fathers know that perhaps certain boys can be sent to school, *i.e.*, if they can afford it, they always would send them. It is only in those cases when they cannot afford to send the boys that they are not sent to school. But all those who can be sent in these days do go; and I think in about ten years more perhaps every boy who can be sent by parents will go. Of course it will not be a very good thing in certain ways, because what I have found, my Lord, I have got a sort of free school, and I think my Hon'ble friend will say this against me—he will say at the same point why you have a free school. Well I have found, my Lord—my experience is—that every boy who once

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passes his primary education, that is, up to primary standard, will never work as a cultivator. I have never seen it, and of course, as I have said, education is a power, and certain classes in India in my opinion are depressed. I do not know what to say, but I mean that they read only with the wrong object. When they have received the education they will only use it in their own way ; I mean they will always disabuse it. That is my opinion and of course I must express it. In my opinion really I think that the Bill is rather before the time. My Hon'ble friend always says that we always say that it is before the time, and how are we going to get over that argument ? At any rate let us wait a little bit more."

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler: "My Lord, I think it will be convenient if at this stage of the debate I indicate the position of Government. If any reply is required later on on any point, my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sharp will give it on behalf of the Education Department. I say at once, my Lord, that I am really sorry to find myself in opposition to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and those who support this motion. We are all really working for the same object. I should rejoice no less than they to see a condition of things in India in which elementary vernacular education could be free and compulsory. The Government of India are deeply concerned to bring about such a condition of things. We are convinced of the necessity of breaking down illiteracy in the country. Every mile of railroad opened displays at once the need for more elementary education and throws into sharper relief the drawbacks of popular illiteracy. For more than fifty years from the time of the despatch of 1854 to the Resolution of Lord Curzon's Government in 1904, and since then, the British Government of India has preached persistently the need for diffusion of vernacular elementary education. And we have not confined our interest to words only. In 1902 we gave a recurring grant of 40 lakhs a year for general education, including primary education. We followed that up in 1905 with a sum of 35½ lakhs a year as a recurring grant for primary education alone. In the distribution of the allotments of non-recurring grants last year, a very considerable sum was set apart for primary education, and the greater part of the 50 lakhs recurring grant which was announced by command of His Imperial Majesty at Delhi has already been devoted to the same object. We must all feel, we all do feel, the splendid services which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has rendered to the cause that we have at heart. He has created an enthusiasm for elementary education in classes which have hitherto been indifferent to its diffusion. We welcome his support in this matter, although we cannot agree with him as to the measures to be adopted. And I can only say that I rather regret that he is unable to give to the officials who disagree with him the same credit that they give to him.

"I now turn to the Bill. My Lord, it is in itself a modest and unassuming measure. It is full of safeguards—so full of safeguards that it seems to many likely to remain a dead-letter. That may be. We cannot assume that it will be. If we pass this measure, we must mean it to be a real effective measure, not a sham. If we accept the principle of the Bill as practical, we must be prepared to put it into force and we must finance it whether we pay two-thirds of the cost or some other proportion. We are practical legislators here, and I ask the Council, is not the position this—either we must mean business and see the thing through, or we must drop the Bill? Now, as practical legislators the first thing we must ask ourselves is—what is the demand for the Bill? I pointed out last year that no local body had ever asked for such a Bill ; on the contrary, for the last twenty years or so Local Governments have been pressing local bodies, particularly municipal bodies, for their neglect of primary education. The only local body that had really seriously in the past considered this matter was the Corporation of Bombay, and the Corporation of Bombay had decided definitely against the principle of compulsion. My Hon'ble friend has no doubt converted a large number of local bodies to his views. I congratulate him upon the result. I will deal with that later. My point now is that the genesis of this Bill was not a spontaneous demand by the people who



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were likely to be affected by it, but a vague desire for progress based upon a statistical comparison of India with other countries. I said last year, and I say to-day, that I am not greatly impressed by transmarine analogies. My Hon'ble friend says that I must show how the circumstances differ in India and in other countries before I reject those analogies. I will gladly do so.

"India, with its numerous and varying types of men, its 1,400 castes and sects, its multiform creeds and languages, its many scripts—there are twenty different scripts in common use in India—and above all, with its early marriage and its seclusion of women—India, I say, cannot usefully be compared with countries where none of these obstacles exist, where there are none of these great lines of cleavage, where there are no untouchable castes. I will deal with the cases which were taken up by the Hon'ble Member. He has held up the examples of England, Japan, the Philippines, Ceylon, Baroda and the Sangli State. In England the compulsory provision of schools preceded by six or ten years the introduction of compulsory attendance, and by twenty-one years the introduction of free education. If we are to follow the example of England, we ought at once to introduce a measure making it compulsory to provide schools throughout the country. We know we cannot do so because we cannot afford to pay for them. Then there is another great difficulty pointed out by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Dadabhoy, that in England the great mass of the teaching staff of the elementary schools are women. There are some 111,000 women in England to some 35,000 male teachers in elementary schools. Again, there is this great difference that in England the majority of people had for many years been gradually working up to the idea of compulsion in some form or other. Apart, then, from any question of relative industrial development in the two countries, I think there is no analogy between the case of England and the case of India. I now come to Japan. Well, in Japan there is a very great enthusiasm for education, and there has been this enthusiasm for more than a century. No less than 62 per cent. of the cost of education in Japan is found from local taxation, and the principle of compulsion is neither required nor is it really enforced. In Japan education is so advanced and respected that the average salary of the teacher in an elementary school is about Rs50 instead of about Rs8 or Rs9 a month in India. In Japan you have a vast majority of the population in favour of education which in India as yet you have not. I do not think there is much to be gained from Japan.

"Now, as to the Philippines, there is no compulsory education at present and the Philippines Government seem to be in some difficulties over their educational system. I take the report of the Director of Education in the Philippines for the year ending 30th of June last. I would ask the Council to listen to this passage :

'It has been recommended for some years that legislation be enacted which, under certain conditions and restrictions, would make school attendance compulsory. The purpose of such desired legislation is not to increase the number of pupils who enrol in the public schools, for that number is already greater than can be properly taken care of with the facilities at hand, but rather to insure regularity of attendance once the pupils have enrolled. As stated above, attendance can be made compulsory only under limitations, but it is believed to be feasible to frame a law which will have the desired effect and will not involve the administration in difficulties.'

"I will read another passage from the same report :

'There is not one town in the Philippine Islands at the present time which has made adequate provision for the housing of its schools. But if funds are to be reserved for school-house construction, salaries must be reduced, schools must be closed and teachers diminished, or revenue must be secured from a new source for the prosecution of school work.'

"My Lord, I say that the lesson to be drawn from the Philippines is a lesson of caution.

"I now turn to Ceylon. My Hon'ble friend says the population of Ceylon is homogeneous with the population of Southern Madras. I am afraid I am

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not personally acquainted with the population of Southern Madras, but I know that 60 per cent. of the population of Ceylon are Buddhist and they are not shackled by the difficulties of caste as are the people of Southern Madras. I may also point out that they had the principle of permissive compulsion, the phrase which has been used in connection with this Bill, enjoined under the Ordinances of 1889 and 1906, and that it was a complete failure and had to be converted into unqualified compulsion. Again, Ceylon differs very much from India in having a very strong village government. I do not think that there is much to be learnt from Ceylon.

"I now come to Baroda. Baroda, as I said last year, is on a different footing and the population is not greatly different from that of the surrounding districts except that it is more heavily taxed. My Hon'ble friend challenged the Government last year. 'The population of Baroda,' he said, is drawn from the same classes as that of the adjoining British territories, and every day that passes sees the subjects of the Gaekwar out-distancing more and more British subjects in the surrounding districts.' And he ended up the debate by saying: 'Are you content to lag behind Baroda?' Most emphatically we are not content to lag behind Baroda. I do not wish to say a word in disparagement of the experiment of Baroda. It was a bold experiment to make with the machinery at the disposal of the State and we all wish it success. But what are the facts? We have recently had a census taken, and that census disclosed some remarkable figures. The percentage of literary among the males in Baroda after 5 years' compulsory and free education is 17.5. In the adjacent British district of Broach, where education is neither free nor compulsory, the percentage is 27.4. In the adjacent British district of Surat, it is 24.7. In the case of females the percentage of literary in Baroda was 2; in Broach it was 2.6; and in Surat it was 3.4. Where is the lagging behind Baroda? Where is the out-distancing British districts? It is far behind them resorting to compulsory and free education in order to make up leeway. I admit that in Baroda the enrolment of boys of school-going age is 8.5 per cent. as compared with 6.9 per cent. in Broach. But the attendance in Baroda is only two-thirds of the enrolment, while on the average in British India it is over three-fourths of the enrolment. In the case of Broach, I have not separate figures, but I am convinced that it is much higher than the average of British India owing to the advanced condition of education in Broach. I have little doubt that school attendance in Broach is higher than what it is in the State of Baroda. Before leaving this subject I would like to quote a passage from the Report of the Chief Minister, but I would also like to direct the attention of the Council to the fact that the fines for non-attendance in Baroda amount to about 60,000 rupees a year. This figure indicates a very considerable measure of popular hostility, and I may say in passing that it gives an incidence per head of the population which is double the incidence of the fees charged in elementary schools in India per head of the population. I now quote to the Council the Administration Report of the Baroda State:

'Upon the Baroda compulsory education system, curious eyes have been turned from every direction. The truth is that while it is by no means an assured success, it is a praiseworthy attempt with an excellent chance of final success if money is freely spent and vigilance ceaselessly exercised. If these two last conditions are not satisfied, the attempt will be a failure. This remark is perhaps justified by the apparent absence of marked progress during the last year. There are a thousand more girls at school this year, but the number of boys has decreased. There can be no doubt that half the girls who ought to go to school under the law do not do so, and that a good many boys manage to escape.'

"A later report has reached me this morning. I have not had the time to study it, but I gather that fresh efforts are being made though I can find no comments on the experiment of compulsory and free education. The matter is still in an experimental stage. I hope, my Lord, that we shall hear no more of lagging behind Baroda.

"I now come to the Sangli State, to which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale made a reference this morning. He told us that a zealous Political Officer had introduced a form of compulsory education into the State. I had not heard it, but I have in the interval with the assistance of Mr. Sharp been able to get



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the figures for that State. The population is only 226,000, and in 1908, when the principle of compulsion was introduced, there were 127 schools and 7,560 pupils."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale :** "May I make a correction? Those figures are *after* compulsory education was introduced. You must take the figures for 1907."

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler :** "I accept the correction. These were the figures for the first year after compulsion was introduced. By 1910 they had risen to 181 schools and 11,642 pupils. After that we come to a halt; in 1911, the figures were 185 schools and 11,458 pupils, a slight decrease in the attendance. I admit that these figures suggest that this has been a successful experiment, but it is not more than an experiment on a very small scale in a Native State, and the result is that less than 5 per cent. of the population are at school, whereas in Broach the percentage is 6.9 per cent."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale :** "Is that the figure for the whole of the Broach District? I am surprised."

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler :** "Yes, for the whole district. I can find still less encouragement in the opinions which have been received and circulated to members of this Council. All the Local Governments are in favour of the extension of primary education and every one of them without exception is singularly unanimous and emphatic in the disapproval of this Bill. They assert that there is no general demand for compulsion, that the cost of compulsion would be prohibitive and most unfair in its incidence, that there is no machinery to enforce compulsion, that the school attendance committees would be ineffectual, that the creation of any machinery specially for the purpose would lead to general hostility, and that, instead of promoting elementary education, the introduction of compulsion would throw it back and hamper its progress. And they support this with a wealth of argument that to a dispassionate reader must appear conclusive, with such a power of conviction that my Hon'ble friend does not really attempt to answer them, but contents himself with shovelling them away into the various circles of his inferno. His wrath is greatest against the Government of Bombay, and that is the Government of Sir George Clarke, a man who done more than any other man, Indian or European, in Bombay for the cause of education. I am sure that this Council was glad to hear the tribute which Sir Vithaldas Thackersey paid to Sir George Clarke for his splendid work in education in Bombay. There seems to be an irreconcilable difference between my point of view and my Hon'ble friend, because the impression left on my mind after a perusal of the various opinions on the Bill was, that the weight of non-official opinion is also against the Bill. The majority of non-official opinions are, I admit, in favour of it, but the weight of authority is against the Bill as a practical measure. There are obviously different ways of counting support and opposition. Several Local Governments draw attention to the absence of reason which mark some of these opinions. Many resolutions have been passed; some of them are entitled to very great respect and attention, but some, I must confess, remind me of the three tailors in Tooley Street with their 'We, the people of England.' Most of the reasoned opinions of those who have really gone into the matter and have practical experience of elementary education as it works end up with the conclusion that the Bill is impracticable and premature. In spite of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's fervid appeal to his own countrymen at the end of last year 'either tax yourself or stop talking about improving the lot of the masses,' there is a very common objection to taxation; there is a very common distrust of the efficacy of the village school attendance committees; there is also a very common dread of official compulsion worked through the police or other special agency. 'Inhuman locusts,' 'insatiable blood-suckers,' are the terms by which the village attendance committees are described in one of the Punjab opinions. That is the language of exaggeration no doubt, but I have lived in the villages among the people; for seven years I was a Settlement Officer, and the people knew me and I knew them; and during these seven years I learnt how very oppressive on the people themselves may be the most beneficial measures which are passed in Councils like this.

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I have seen how these beneficial measures may be distorted into oppression by local tyrants no less than by subordinate agency.

"I heard with regret, with stern regret I heard, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, ordinarily so fair-minded, insinuate that officials are guided by considerations of their prestige in determining issues of this kind submitted to them. I repudiate this."

**The Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey :** "My Lord, may I explain myself clearly? I did not say that they were guided by these considerations. What I said was that, in this case, even those considerations were absent."

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler :** "The distinction is really I think without a difference. The instruction remains. I repudiate it with all the warmth at my command and with all respect to my Hon'ble friend. The officials give credit to their opponents on this question for honest motives, and they expect the same. I read in the vast majority of opinions of officials a deep and genuine and earnest desire for the welfare of the people."

"The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale claims that a number of Boards are in favour of the principle of the Bill. They have been converted by his persuasive eloquence. He had to stump the country hard to do it."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale :** "I did not attend a single Board meeting anywhere."

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler :** "It was not necessary. The Hon'ble Member's influence is so great that he hypnotises from a distance. But he did have to stump the country, and we admire his energy and enthusiasm. I wonder how many of these Boards would adhere to their opinion when it came home to them in definite proposals for additional taxation. I will tell the Council a little story which I heard in another place. A certain Durbar, which shall be nameless, had once expressed its strong opinion in favour of some administrative proposal that had been made to it and to the neighbouring States. When the Political Officer came some years afterwards, he was a little surprised to find that no action had been taken on the proposal. He asked the Durbar why nothing had been done when the Durbar had said that the proposal was in every way commendable. The Durbar explained with evident sincerity that it had meant that the proposal would be very good for other States. I think that a good many of these Boards, if their opinions come back to roost with definite proposals for taxation, will find that free and compulsory education is very good for other Boards. I should like to quote from two of the best reasoned opinions in the whole collection—those of the Bombay Corporation and of the District Board, Malabar. The Bombay Corporation say that education should be free and compulsory and they are in favour of the ultimate introduction of the principle throughout the country. They disapprove however of this Bill. They say :

'The Corporation are of opinion that the method embodied in the Bill is not likely to attain the object in view in a practical and satisfactory manner, and they consider that at present the great need of the country is a strenuous acceleration of the policy of Government to push primary education as rapidly as possible and to adopt a definite policy by which the number of schools can be increased from year to year within a definite period and thus to pave the way for the proposed measure.'

"Then I will quote the opinion of the District Board, Malabar. This is one of the advanced District Boards, because 42·8 per cent. of the children of schoolgoing age are already at school. After pointing out the many advantages of the measure which in principle it was in favour of and after considering the very great practical drawbacks of the introduction of the measure, the Malabar District Board say :

'Speaking for its own district, the Board is of opinion that the improvement of elementary education should take two lines—firstly, the improvement of existing schools, their masters, their appliances and their buildings, and secondly, the opening of schools in important villages where they do not now exist. It believes that a well-considered scheme of improvement on these lines would do more good than a premature scheme for universal and compulsory education.'



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"These are the wise and weighty words of responsible men.

"As regards free elementary education, there is very little to be said. The principle of free elementary education has long been accepted in India. In the Frontier Province of Assam, in Baluchistan and in the North-West Frontier Province, elementary education is already entirely free. In the Punjab and in certain districts of the United Provinces, all the sons of agriculturists get their education free. In Burma a very large proportion of the children pay no fees. In other Provinces proportions of the school population, varying from 20 to 33 per cent. and even a higher figure, do not pay any fees in elementary schools. And in a recent communication to Local Governments in connection with the 50 lakhs recurring grant, the Government of India have expressed themselves in favour of the principle of extension of free elementary education for all those who cannot afford to pay fees. This, I hope, will fully meet the demand for free elementary education at the present time.

"Now, I turn to the probable cost of this measure as a practical measure of legislation. My Hon'ble friend puts it at  $4\frac{1}{4}$  to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees and requires another crore separately for the education of girls. This estimate leaves out of account altogether the cost of increased inspection, the cost of training of teachers, the cost of adequate school-buildings and appliances, the cost of machinery for enforcing compulsory attendance and the multiplication and cost involved in the provision of separate school-buildings in numerous areas where there are other classes who cannot attend the same school. It leaves out of account also the cost of prolonging the course beyond four years, which is admitted by all experts to be quite inadequate although it may suffice as a commencement. Already in Baroda they have had to increase their course by another year. Apart from these shortcomings, if I may so call them, the estimate is based on an assumed figure of 5 rupees per scholar per year. Now, that leaves very little or no margin for improvement, and if we are to make education compulsory throughout India, we must give sufficient and suitable education, and we cannot give that at the present rate of the salaries of teachers with the present cost of living. I pass by the fact that we could probably not get teachers at all for a considerable number of years for any large and impetuous expansion. Teachers have to be made; they cannot be picked up in India; and what I want to emphasize now is this, that we must have solid improvements in our elementary schools concurrently with the expansion of elementary education, or else we shall be doing a great injustice to the people and a permanent injury to India. I suppose I have inspected at least a thousand elementary schools in my time and have been instrumental in opening over a hundred new schools. Now, my experience is that in every case the success of the school depends on the teacher. I ask those Hon'ble Members who may have greater experience than myself, is not that so? Is there not a general demand among the parents for a better type of elementary school—a more practical type which will train the hand and eye, which will fit the boy for his position in life and give him a sound practical training? But what can we expect on the present salaries of our elementary teachers? There has been progress. The strenuous labours of the Local Governments and Departments of Public Instruction have not been in vain. But at the Allahabad Conference, over which I had the honour of presiding last year, there was a consensus of opinion that our modern and up-to-date curricula exist still for the most part on paper because we cannot get the right stamp of teacher. No; at the very lowest estimate the cost must, in my humble opinion, be at least double the figure proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, if we are to make any impression in the country. And then there are the girls. They have not entered at all into the calculation. We have to educate the girls not less than the boys. We need not contemplate compulsion in their case; but the widespread education of girls is of vital importance to India of the future. How can we as practical men pass a measure which, if it is to be effective, will involve such an enormous expenditure?

"My Hon'ble friend says in effect: 'I only ask you to make a beginning with compulsion.' But is this a time to make a beginning with compulsion? From every side we hear a demand for more elementary schools. In the United

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Provinces schools have been closed for want of funds. Elsewhere there has been a check from the same cause. We know that we can have a large expansion of elementary education on the voluntary principle, if only we can find the money. Are we to stop the expansion of the voluntary system in the backward areas in order to make experiments in compulsion in the more advanced localities? We have not enough money to go round as it is. Is it wise, is it just, is it practical statesmanship to stop those who want to go to school from going there in order to force into school those who do not want to go? I ask you, has not my Hon'ble friend begun at the wrong end? Even if it be the case, though instances are not forthcoming, that a local body here and there may desire in the near future to introduce the principle of compulsion and is prepared to raise the whole of the necessary funds by local taxation, even assuming such a case, which we should be quite prepared to consider on its merits, would not the natural course be to provide for it by local legislation, by the amendment of the Municipal Law or otherwise? So long as large tracts of the country are crying for the expansion of the voluntary principle, can we, as responsible legislators, divert the money of the general tax-payer to meet exceptional demands for compulsion by an Act of the Imperial Legislature?

"My Hon'ble friend in kindly terms, which I appreciate, justifies the existence of the Education Department and asks me further to justify its existence by adopting his Bill. Take over compulsion, he says, and leave the voluntary principle to the Local Governments. Guarantee two-thirds of the cost all round. Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird! We have a good deal in hand as it is, without embarking on compulsion in local areas under Local Governments against the wish and behind the authority of those Governments. No; this is not practical, nor is it practical to guarantee two-thirds of the cost of any experiment even were it desirable. The resources of the local bodies vary enormously, and so does their financial position. To some of them two-thirds of the cost would be an excessive grant; to others it would be altogether inadequate. Some Boards are rich and others are poor. We cannot possibly have one figure for all.

"My Lord, I must oppose the further progress of this Bill on the ground that it is premature and calculated to damage the cause of elementary education. But this does not imply any hostility to the principles which underly it. Our mind is fixed to spread and to improve elementary education. We believe that great progress is possible, that India in varying degree is at last waking up to the advantages of elementary education. We see that there has been real progress under the voluntary system. In the last ten years the number of public elementary schools alone has increased from under 98,000 to over 120,000 and the number of boys at school from under 3½ millions to over 4½ millions. Ten years is not a very long time in the life of India. The figures enclosed with the Bombay Government's opinion on this Bill reveal a remarkably advanced state of elementary education in parts of that Presidency. I grant you that we are not satisfied—we are profoundly dissatisfied with the general rate of progress; but we are advised by all our experts that it can be enormously accelerated by the provision of funds to finance schemes of advancement. We are working out those schemes with Local Governments. They take time. They cannot be framed in a day. We must not be wasteful when there is such urgent need of money for education all along the line. But we hope to finance these schemes with liberal grants from Imperial revenues. On the solemn occasion of the Delhi Durbar, in the most solemn manner, we have recognised the predominant claims of education on the resources of the Indian Empire and announced our firm intention to add to the 50 lakhs recurring grant further grants in future years on a generous scale. We desire to spread schools throughout the land and to raise and make more practical the whole character of our primary education. Primary education cannot do everything. It cannot, as my Hon'ble friend said, create a new heaven and a new earth. It cannot on a sudden lift the veil and open up new avenues to prosperity. There are limits—we have touched them in the West—to what education can put in that Nature has left out, and to what education can take out that Nature has put in. But it can do much. It can fit the masses in this



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country to cope on more equal terms with the forces—the strong on-pressing forces—of material progress. It can—in time it can—create greater adaptability to agricultural and industrial advancement. It can enlarge the minds and brighten the outlook of the people and foster progressive desire which is the root of the economic growth of a community. There are many difficulties ahead. But we shall not flinch, we shall not falter in the way. Though our views may differ as to means, we are all united as to the end—the Government of India, the Local Governments, the Departments of Public Instruction and enlightened public opinion are single-eyed as to the end in view. We are determined, resolutely determined, to combat ignorance through the length and breadth of this ancient land, up and down and to and fro, and though the struggle may be long and arduous, I do believe, my Lord, with all my heart I do believe, we shall prevail.”

**The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu :** “My Lord, there is nothing older in the story of human progress than hostility to new ideas. Even the most cautious step to abandon the beaten track in whatever region of thought is sharply challenged, both as to its purpose and its method, and I did not expect that this very cautious move of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale would not also be sharply challenged. This is true of religion, of politics and of education also. My Lord, our ancestors were brought up in the belief that the universe turned round the earth, and then, when in the 15th century a philosopher was born who challenged that theory and said that the earth was turning round something else, people naturally felt disconcerted and the natural consequence was that this philosopher was cast into prison. But though change is gradual and is resisted with all the force of orthodoxy, it nevertheless comes, and I believe the time has come even in India when a change in its educational methods, especially as regards the elementary branch, has become absolutely needful. That greater attention should be paid to this branch of education has been admitted in very eloquent language by the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education. Our only difference now is not as regards the necessity but as regards the method. The goal is the same, it is the way by which the goal is to be attained. My Hon'ble friend would leave everything to voluntary efforts, and he points with justifiable pride to the enormous results which the voluntary system has succeeded in achieving during the course of the last ten years. I for one readily acknowledge the great strides that have been taken on the onward path of education ; our countrymen and I pay our humble meed to the strenuous efforts which Government has made in that direction. But we, who desire to support the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill, think that more ought to be done than has been done, and that the pace has not been fast enough, because the motive power was not strong enough. There have been occasions in human history where we have gone from one stage to another through a long process of evolution. There have also been occasions where the progress has been much more rapid owing to causes which were within the control of the men concerned. We had in the early stages of human development, I shall not take the Hindu sages of old, but taking the teachings of Plato and Aristotle, who drew their inspiration from the primal forces of nature, the ideal that gathered round the abounding energies which surrounded human thought,—then, my Lord, through early Christian times and medieval Europe that ideal passed from things connected with the earth to the supernatural and things beyond the earth, until recent years Descartes and Kant established the necessity of relying upon human consciousness alone for the elevation of humanity. These changes have taken years to accomplish and be accepted. They have been accelerated by thoughtful men of different ages, and now that other countries have set the example as to what may be achieved in the domain of elementary education and how it may be achieved, I think that the time is ripe for consideration as to whether the methods which have been followed in other countries with success may not be adopted with equal success in India. Difficulties have been suggested and have been raised. One of these difficulties was given expression to at this Council to-day, namely, if the lower classes were educated, a great social problem would arise about the relationship between the different strata of society.

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I am sorry, my Lord, that that objection proceeded from a gentleman who professes the Moslem faith ; for, if any one teacher of mankind more than another has successfully taught the equality of man, it was the great Prophet of Arabia. He it was who accentuated what was more or less a theory in India in Hindu and Buddhist times, and what was in those days also more or less a theory in Christianity. He it was who reduced into actual practice what was the highest ideal of religion in other countries, and he successfully combated the old ideas of differences with which mankind was supposed to be born in this earth ; and I am sorry that one who professes that religion should now start the difficulty that, if the lower classes are educated, they will no longer follow their avocations of serving the upper classes but will be independent or try to be independent of them. That is an argument which I think has had its day.

"My friend, the Hon'ble Malik Umar Hyat Khan, opposes the Bill on very much the same grounds. He has by his own conduct contradicted his principle. He says that he has started a free school in his own place. I mean no disrespect to him, but I think it would have been of advantage to him as well as to us if he had spent a little of his time in that free school himself. But that may go.

"My friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Madge, has dwelt upon the paucity of teachers for these small schools, the difficulty of buildings, and also upon the fact that the higher classes in India are unwilling that their children should associate with those of the lower classes. I do not know whether he is aware that in Bengal we have got schools which are known as the Guru training schools."

The Hon'ble Mr. Madge : "My Lord, I did not make the last remark at all."

The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu : "I did not catch what my Hon'ble friend said. But there are Guru training schools in Bengal from which trained teachers for these elementary schools are turned out in large numbers every year. I do not say that these teachers are sufficient ; but if anyone takes the trouble to read the history of free and compulsory elementary education in other countries, he will see that all these countries were confronted at the start with that very same difficulty—the difficulty of having a sufficient number of trained teachers. But that difficulty has not prevented them from introducing the legislation which we seek to introduce to-day, and that difficulty has not retarded the growth of elementary education in those countries : given the demand, there will not be much difficulty in finding the supply.

"Much has been said of buildings for schools. My Lord, in our country amongst the humble dwellings of the poor we do not require the assistance of the Public Works Department and of chartered contractors to build elaborate houses for the education of the children of the agricultural and industrial classes. In my Province of Bengal, a few bamboos cut from a neighbouring tope and a few bundles of straw would immediately give a nice little school for the boys to attend, and they will be happier in a school of that description than in any very elaborate and ambitious buildings which the Public Works Department may set up for them, where roofs curiously enough behave as sieves on the least threat of a downpour. So that this is a difficulty which does not frighten us very much. There is another difficulty ; there is another reason why we suggest, why we desire, to press upon the attention of Your Lordship's Government that this measure or a measure like this should be placed on our Statute-book. My Lord, I had the privilege of being present at the House of Commons at the time of the last Indian Budget, and there I heard our present Under-Secretary of State referring to the enormous and appalling mortality from plague. In the course of the last 15 years, he said, more than 7½ millions of people in India had died, and he said—notwithstanding the formidable rat-flea of my friend the Hon'ble Surgeon General Lukis—that much of these deaths could have been prevented if people had been sufficiently educated to adopt the methods which would have saved them from the attack of the rat-flea. Well, my Lord, if 7½ millions were an appalling figure in the course of 15 years for all India, for Bengal alone for the same 15 years, taking only one disease—preventible malaria—notwithstanding the predatory



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character of the mosquito, taking Bengal alone during the same 15 years, the toll of death has been about 20 millions. So that what plague has not done for all India in 15 years, malaria levied more than twice that toll from my unhappy Province of Bengal, within the same period. And if a little more knowledge among the homes of the poor would enable them to save a few lives from the ravages of plague, of malaria, of cholera, that would be an achievement worth achieving. My Lord, it has been said that compulsion is a measure which the Government at the present moment is not prepared to adopt or to suggest for adoption. Nobody denies that the idea of compulsion is a repellant idea, but, my Lord, when your great predecessor Lord William Bentinck undertook another compulsory legislation, namely, the preventing of burning widows who wanted to be *sati*, it was said that these widows wanted to be burnt voluntarily,—the death-rate that was then shown was about 750 a year for all India. I am only speaking from memory, but I believe I am fairly correct. Well, my Lord, what does Your Lordship's Government say of 7½ millions against 750? If you take that seven hundred and fifty for ten years, it will be only seven thousand and five hundred, but it is nothing compared to the millions that are lost owing to the ravages of plague, malaria and other preventible diseases, and if by little compulsion you can educate the people to a sense of their danger, if you can educate them to adopt means and methods which will protect their lives, would it not be doing a great thing for India? And would Your Lordship not feel justified in those circumstances, having regard to the enormous amount of lives at stake, would Your Lordship not feel justified in having recourse to some amount of compulsion in educating the people? And it is not only the death-rate that is to be considered. If Your Lordship goes into the mufassal, into the malaria-stricken villages of Bengal, and if Your Lordship looks at the emaciated men and women, at the devitalization that goes on, at the lowering of the vital energies, at the lowering of the race, at the unhappiness and misery in every home, at the inadequacy of sanitary methods and sanitary appliances to cope with this dire calamity, Your Lordship would say that you would give anything to alleviate even a hundredth part of this suffering and misery. As a matter of fact, this compulsion that my friend Mr. Gokhale suggests is nothing if taken in the scale. And what is this compulsion? This compulsion would be exercised through the means of School Committees where the parents of the children will be represented. It may be said—it has been said—that that compulsion will be merely a nominal compulsion, that it will err more on the side of leniency than of stringency. Well, my Lord, I believe in these Boards will also be School Inspectors, who will see that these Boards are not unusually lenient. And then again my friend has provided another safeguard, namely, that the desire for education in a particular locality should have so far developed that at least 33 per cent. of the boys should be found to be going to some school or other. And then, this measure is to be imposed at the desire of the people themselves who are concerned in carrying it out. Where then is the bogie of compulsion? I submit that there is nothing of compulsion in it. My friends have drawn harrowing pictures of what the fate of the poor villagers will be—boys hunted and brought up in batches by their own fathers and relatives and co-villagers into these schools, kept there as close prisoners for the day, and then let loose upon an innocent world where they will develop into political agitators, and they will throw to the winds the respect that they entertain for their official superiors. I do not share that apprehension. No man who has studied the question of rural life would share in that apprehension. My Lord, I shall not tire the patience of this Council, but in the opinions that have been circulated to us there is a statement by the Director of Public Instruction of my Province, where he says that in Bengal, wherever a school is opened, he does not find any difficulty in getting boys, and therefore the fear that so far as Bengal is concerned that the agriculturists will be forced against their will to send their boys to school is unfounded. I cannot speak with personal knowledge of other parts of India, but I believe in many parts (it may not be in the United Provinces), from where my friend the Hon'ble Nawab Sahib comes, but in many parts the conditions must be the same.

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"Then, my Lord, what is the other objection? The other objection is taxation; it is the financial difficulty. Between two great experts, my friend Mr. Gokhale on the one side, and the Hon'ble Member for Education on the other, without any previous examination of the figures, it would be indeed venturesome to hazard an opinion; but I shall take the higher figure. I shall take against us everything that can be said; but I may remind my friend the Member for Education that the law will not be introduced in one day; that this Bill even if it becomes law will not be put into operation throughout India in the course of one year, or two years, I believe it will take another 20 years. My friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is very sanguine when he thinks it will be accomplished only in 10 years. I say it will take at least another 20 years before the Bill becomes one of general operation throughout the country. In my Province a one-anna cess brings in a revenue of about 80 lakhs of rupees a year; a cess which is known there as the road cess. That cess is contributed half by the zamindar and half by the raiyat. Much has been said for and against the permanent settlement of this Province, but I do not look with any degree of horror upon a slight additional burden being put upon the zamindar, who pays no income-tax, who pays no succession-duty, in the shape of an education-cess. My friend here (the Hon'ble Raja of Dighapatia), the representative of a big body of zamindars, exclaims from behind me that there is succession-duty. I may tell my friend that there is no such duty so far as the great bulk of the people are concerned and specially as regards landed estates. But apart from that I might ask my friend that when the permanent settlement was entered into in the days of Lord Cornwallis the State reserved to itself three-fourths of the revenue then yielded from these properties, and gave to the zamindar one-fourth of the revenue. What is the proportion now? Much has been done by zamindars in Bengal to improve their property; but is not the State entitled—leaving the permanent settlement intact without in any way encroaching upon it, is not the State entitled to some part—a very small part—of the unearned increment, not by the alteration of the settlement certainly, but by way of sharing the burdens of the Empire with other communities? I do not suggest that forthwith and incontinently my friends should be taxed; but I say there are means. Succession-duties have not yet been introduced into our country, and it is only when a probate is applied for and obtained, or when cash or securities have got to be dealt with, that any succession-duty is payable by our people in India. There are other sources. I do not see why the professional classes should not contribute in the shape of some graduated income-tax upon their incomes. All talk about the improvement and the progress of the country becomes mere empty talk, and worse than empty talk, becomes hypocritical cant if you are not prepared to undergo some sacrifice in the interests of your people. If you are not, then all this talk about the progress of the country may as well not be said, and may as well not be heard. My Lord, these are unpleasant things to say, but at the same time these are things which are agitating the mind of the people, and, my Lord, the lower classes to-day, sunk and depressed, are beginning to feel, for the missionary has been going round among them starting schools and teaching them the dignity of manhood and the position that they occupy in the social life of India, and if the higher classes will not do their duty they will be made to do it at no very distant time. But apart from that, my Lord, in our country there was compulsion in matters educational in Hindu times. That compulsion was in favour of ignorance. Why should you not in the 20th century impose a compulsion in favour of knowledge? For, my Lord, it is the great pride of British rule in India that they have, for the first time in the history of India, made knowledge, which was the privilege of the few, the heritage of the many, and because we wish that that heritage should be extended, should be amplified, that all our countrymen should partake more largely than they do in the benefits of that heritage, that we appeal to Your Lordship's Government to support the measure which my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has introduced. We are told by the Hon'ble the Educational Member that the Government is not prepared. We shall accept that; but I join my friend in his appeal to Your Lordship's Government that the Government itself, after mature deliberation, will bring forward a measure



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which will be devoid of many of the drawbacks to which a private Bill like the present is subject, and that that measure will meet the necessities of the case, will extend to the dumb millions of India, to the depressed classes—I might as well say the sunken classes—of India the benefits of that education which have made other countries great in the scale of nations.”

**The Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Shafi:** “My Lord, one of India's ablest sons striving to bring about universal diffusion of elementary education among the masses of the Indian people so as to dispel the gloom in which millions of our countrymen are at present shrouded, is a fact calculated to rouse feelings of admiration in the hearts of all true well-wishers of the country. It is unquestionable that the object which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has in view in undertaking this great task is indeed an enlightened one, being the result of that intensely patriotic spirit which is the main-spring of his manifold activities for the furtherance of our country's cause. Had my Hon'ble friend introduced in this Council a measure embodying a comprehensive scheme of extension of elementary education on a voluntary basis, I can give him my most solemn assurance that I would have given that scheme my most enthusiastic support. For, my Lord, in respect of this most important problem there is nothing clearer to my mind than what I said the other day, that the establishment of an increasing network of elementary schools throughout the length and breadth of the Indian continent and the gradual adoption of measures calculated to make elementary education ultimately free so as to bring it within easy reach of the masses, is the most crying need of the time.

“But, my Lord, my opinion as well as my duty in regard to the question of extension of primary education by means of compulsion are equally clear. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale first advocated the introduction of compulsion for the purposes of extension of elementary education in the well known Resolution moved by him in the spring of 1910. Having, ever since my return from England in 1892, taken an active interest in the educational advancement of my country, I naturally gave to this important problem my most anxious consideration. And when, nearly a year after, my Hon'ble friend introduced the Bill now under discussion in the meeting of the Council held on Thursday, the 16th March 1911, I closely followed the preliminary discussion and carefully examined the various provisions contained in the proposed enactment. The Bill was discussed in two successive meetings of the Lahore Municipal Committee in the month of June 1911, and having, by that time, definitely settled in my own mind that the use of compulsion as a means for the wide diffusion of elementary education among the masses was premature, impracticable and inadvisable, I gave expression to this opinion during the course of that discussion. By a majority of votes the Municipal Committee of Lahore decided against compulsion, the said majority consisting of the entire body of Musalman members and a number of Hindu and Christian Municipal Commissioners. At the same time, in response to a communication from the Provincial authorities, I submitted a memorandum embodying my opinion on the various provisions of Mr. Gokhale's Bill which was subsequently printed in the form of a pamphlet and circulated in various parts of the country. In August and September 1911 I wrote a series of articles in the *Paisa Akhbar* of Lahore, giving my views upon the proposed legislation in greater detail. These views were commented upon in various English and Vernacular newspapers throughout India. In December 1911 my lamented friend the Hon'ble Sardar Partab Singh met with untimely death, and I was elected by a clear majority of the non-official members of the Punjab Legislative Council as their representative on the Imperial Council in the place of the deceased Sardar. Not only were all my colleagues of the Punjab Council fully aware of my views on the Bill now under discussion, but, of the 14 non-official members, 9 were entirely opposed to compulsion while 3 regarded it with favour. Of the remaining two, whose opinions I recently asked for by wire, one telegraphs as follows:—‘Quite approve free education but do hesitate to make it compulsory. Would give Local Governments power to make it compulsory in selected areas and to extend compulsion gradually in the

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light of experience gained'; and the other wires:—'Difficult to give categorical reply to such important question by wire.' It is clear, therefore, that the views I have already submitted in writing, and those I am about to express to-day, represent the opinions of a clear majority of those who have done me the honour of electing me as their representative on the Imperial Council.

"My Lord, before proceeding further it is absolutely essential for me to clear the ground by determining the real issue upon which the Council has to pronounce its judgment. According to the Statement of Objects and Reasons annexed to the Bill, its object is 'to provide for the gradual introduction of compulsion into the elementary education system of the country.' And a careful examination of the various provisions contained in the Bill as introduced makes it abundantly clear that the main end in view has been carried out by setting up a highly inquisitorial machinery of compulsion, and compulsion alone. In view of this incontrovertible fact, it seems to me that the title of the Bill is somewhat of a misnomer and the preamble is obviously calculated to confuse the real issue. It would have been far more consistent with precision and exactitude to have framed the preamble of the Bill in terms of its Statement of Objects and Reasons and to have called it as 'The Compulsory Education Bill'. A glance at some of the opinions sent up from various parts of the country would show that this criticism is amply justified, these opinions having been recorded more on the desirability of extension of elementary education generally than upon the real question in issue in this controversy. As I have said in the memorandum embodying my opinion, 'the extension of elementary education is, to my mind, not only "expedient," as stated in the preamble, but is highly desirable. \*\*\* But the introduction of compulsion, for the purposes of such extension, constitutes an entirely different question and must be considered on its own merits.' In that memorandum I have analysed the principal features of the Bill under six heads, have discussed each separately and have mentioned some of the reasons which have convinced me of the undesirability of a resort to compulsion for the realisation of the end in view. I have there shewn that compulsion is, from every point of view, unsuited to the existing circumstances of this country; that the analogy of self-governing countries is absolutely inapplicable to India; that elementary education must first be made free before compulsion can even be thought of; that the power of initiation given under this Bill to Municipalities and District Boards, far from avoiding the irritation admittedly likely to arise from this enactment, is calculated to give rise to difficulties and misapprehensions; that the levying of a special education rate is not only unjustifiable but will be extremely unpopular; that the proposed school attendance committees will be a source of oppression, annoyance and corruption; that the penal clauses of the Bill will create unrest among the masses; and that compulsion in the case of girls will be resented by the people. I do not now propose to repeat the reasons given in my memorandum in justification of these opinions as I have to deal with other matters to-day. I ask Hon'ble Members to bear these reasons in mind when giving their votes on the motion now before the Council, to keep the real issue clearly in view, and not to allow themselves to be led away from it by eloquent dissertations on the desirability of the extension of elementary education in general among the masses.

"My Lord, the supporters of the Bill claim that an overwhelming majority of public opinion in the country is in favour of the adoption of compulsion for the achievement of the desired end. I shall now proceed to examine the validity of this claim. It is obvious that the measure under discussion will not directly affect the educated classes, or even those who are already sending their children to school although themselves not educated. Now, if a referendum were taken among the masses upon whom the enactment will have direct effect, I venture to assert that the result will be an almost unanimous and albeit a vehement protest against the proposed legislation. In this connection I would like to refer the Hon'ble Members to the elaborate and well-reasoned opinion recorded by Mirza Habib Husain, B.A., Head Master, Husainabad High School, Lucknow, to which special attention has been invited by the United Provinces



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Government. This educationalist of exceptional experience took the trouble of making extensive inquiries among the classes who will be directly affected by this measure, and has sent up what appears to me a most valuable memorandum worthy of special consideration.

"But let us turn to the views expressed by members of the educated classes, official as well as non-official, whose opinions, on a question like this, undoubtedly carry special weight. In going through these, what strikes one as highly significant is the hopeless conflict and divergence of views visible everywhere, in spite of natural predilection in favour of extension of elementary education. Broadly speaking, these are divisible into three groups: firstly, those who have expressed unconditional approval of the Bill as introduced, including even those who have, to my mind, been influenced by natural predisposition towards elementary education generally and have not really considered compulsion upon its own merits; secondly, those who have voted against resort to compulsion under the existing circumstances; and, thirdly, those who are prepared to support the introduction of compulsion provided certain conditions laid down by them are complied with. And in this connection, I am glad to notice, from the speech delivered by him to-day, that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale himself, whatever his original position as indicated in the Bill as originally introduced, has now been converted partly to the views held by the third group, and I am not hopeless that a little further consideration of the problem by him may lead to an entire agreement between him and those who fall under the second head.

"Now, my Lord, a careful examination of these opinions would make it clear to Hon'ble Members that there is really no substantial difference between the views held by the second and third groups. Generally speaking, concurrence by the third group in the principle of compulsion is coupled with the conditions that elementary education must be made free, that it should not involve any additional taxation on the people, and that, in the constitution of the School Attendance Committees, the adoption of the school curriculum, fixing the language through the medium of which instruction is to be imparted and in certain other cognate matters, the interests of minorities should be adequately safeguarded. To cite but one instance, and that undoubtedly the most important of this group. The guarded and cautious resolution, which had the support of 34 out of 61 members who attended the Anniversary, passed at the recent meeting of the All-India Muslim League held in the Calcutta Town Hall, read together with the letter sent up by the Council of the League, having been adopted by a majority at an adjourned meeting in which 7 members were present, clearly show that the members of the League who are prepared to support the introduction of compulsion consider it absolutely essential that education be made free; that Muslim boys should receive at the same time religious instruction; that Urdu should be the sole medium so far as Musalmans are concerned throughout India; that their teachers should be Muhammadans; that text-books for them should be prepared by competent Muslim writers; that *Maktabs* should be recognised by the Education Department; that School Attendance Committees should be composed of equal number of Hindus and Muhammadans; that Muslim Inspectors should be appointed; that if there is to be any taxation only those people should be taxed who will benefit directly by the scheme; that compulsion should not be sanctioned by Government unless more than two-thirds of the members of a Board are in favour of the measure, the views of the leaders of the various Committees being ascertained at the same time, and that there should be no compulsion in the case of girls. 'Without these safeguards', declares the Council of the League, 'compulsion in elementary education will never be acceptable to Musalmans as a whole.' And the letter concludes with these significant words: 'In conclusion, the League begs to impress it upon the Government that as the introduction of the principle of compulsion in education is a great innovation in which the ignorant masses of India are likely to doubt its good faith, it should proceed with great caution, and the penal clauses of the Bill should be so amended as to make the scheme work without friction in the various parts of the country.'

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‘My Lord, I do not know whether my Hon’ble friend is prepared to accept all these conditions without which, according to the Council of the League, compulsion will not be acceptable to the Muhammadan community. So far as his speech to-day is concerned, he has accepted only one, *i.e.*, the language condition, and I venture to invite the attention of my Muhammadan colleagues particularly to this fact. But, for the purposes of the present discussion, I venture to submit that a close examination of this combination of possible and impossible conditions makes it abundantly clear that, at the bottom of these conditions, there lurks a conviction in the minds of the exponents of these views that a resort to compulsion, under existing circumstances, is premature and impracticable. For, the condition that compulsory elementary education must, at the same time, be free and should not involve additional taxation implies an admission that the introduction of compulsion is, at present, premature. Keeping the present state of the public exchequer in mind, it must be recognised that the steps which the Government will have, and in my humble judgment ought, to take for the purpose of making elementary education ultimately free will be gradual. Only four days ago my Hon’ble friend himself urged upon the Government the claims of the local bodies for a larger share in public revenues to enable them to discharge adequately their urgent duties in connection with sanitation and other local needs of the people which he rightly pointed out called for early attention. It is, therefore, obvious that the exponents of this view, while supporting compulsion in theory, cannot but recognise that, in view of the existing financial conditions and needs, the proposal is, from a practical point of view, obviously premature. Again, when possible and impossible conditions relating to the safeguarding of the interests of minorities are put forward as conditions precedent to the enforcement of compulsion, these in themselves constitute an admission of impracticability of the scheme and establish the validity of the position taken up by those who fall within the second group mentioned by me at an earlier stage.

“For, my Lord, what does, after all, the position taken up by the second group amount to? It amounts to this: compulsion is the last rung in the educational ladder. An effort to reach the top of the ladder by one long jump may result in a tumble-down highly injurious to national progress. You must proceed step by step in order to secure a steady and enduring national advancement. The first rung in this ladder is the establishment of a school in almost every village and provision of a large staff of duly qualified teachers, which you do not now possess, for these schools. The next is the adoption of measures to make elementary education ultimately free. These measures are certain to give such a tremendous impetus to the widespread extension of elementary education among the Indian masses as will delight the hearts of the most ardent advocates of national progress. And if the results should happen to be still unsatisfactory, there will then be time to think of compulsion. By that time the existing conflict and divergence of communal and other interests will have disappeared, special measures for safeguarding the interests of minorities will no longer be necessary, and there will be very little cause for that anxiety which the Hon’ble Mr. Gokhale himself expressed in the speech delivered by him when introducing his famous Resolution in March 1910. I venture to remind the Council of what my Hon’ble friend said on that occasion. ‘I recognise, my Lord,’ said he, ‘that the unpopularity that will be evoked by the principle of compulsion in certain sections will be considerable; in view of the special circumstances attaching to the position of the British Government in this country, I recognise that this unpopularity should not come to the State on account of any direct compulsion introduced.’ My Lord, I venture to think that these words then uttered by the Hon’ble Member himself are full of significance. So far as the uneducated masses of our people are concerned, the laws promulgated by this Council, whether at the instance of a private member or of a member of the Executive Government, are the laws of the *Sarkar*: all orders issued by authority, whether Imperial, Provincial or local, are orders of Government. Therefore, my Lord, when we say that compulsion is, under existing conditions, premature and impracticable, the position adopted by us is substantially the same as that taken up by the third group.



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" My Lord, in the analysis of opinions which my Hon'ble friend gave to this Council to-day, he has taken into account all those who fall under the third head as supporters of his Bill, and that is the reason—

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale :** " Supporters of the principle of the Bill.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi :** " Excuse me for not having said the principle of the Bill. A lot has been said of the principle of the Bill. We all know what the principle of the Bill is, but we are discussing here the Bill itself. Whatever the principle may be, is the procedure laid down in this Bill practicable? Are the provisions of the Bill desirable? Is not the Bill which my Hon'ble friend has brought forward inopportune and premature? These are the questions which this Council have to consider, and I submit that my Hon'ble friend has no right whatsoever to take the opinion of local bodies and Municipal Committees that recognise the principle of the Bill but are opposed to any taxation as supporting the Bill when at the same time he insists upon the imposition of taxation to which these Committees are strongly opposed. My Hon'ble friend ought to allow me to take the opinions of those Committees as are in my favour and not in his favour. But in any case, putting aside the opinions expressed by the third group as neither favourable to him nor to me, let us see what is the proper analysis of the opinions sent up, an analysis showing how many are the supporters of my Hon'ble friend and how many are the opponents of compulsion. I have prepared an analysis of these opinions to which I wish to invite the attention of the Council.\* My Hon'ble friend laid a good deal of stress on the Punjab opinion, and therefore I shall give the Punjab opinion separately; but in order to save the time of Hon'ble Members, I will give the sum total of the opinions of the six major Provinces. In the Punjab the Local Government is strongly against it. Out of the European officials, those who have given their unqualified support are 10 and those who oppose compulsion 35; out of the Hindu officials, those who have given their whole-hearted support to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale are 7 and those who are against compulsion 5; out of the Muhammadan officials, those who have given their support are 2 and those who have opposed it are 10; out of the European non-officials, there is only one opinion, and that is opposed to the Bill; out of the Hindu non-officials, 11 have supported my friend and 4 have gone against him; out of the Muhammadan non-officials, 2 have supported him and 5 have opposed compulsion. Out of the Municipalities, 21 have supported my friend and 31 have gone against him. Out of the District Boards, 4 have supported him and 12 are against him. Out of the various associations and public meetings—of course we know how meetings can be arranged and resolutions obtained—while 3 Hindu meetings have supported him, one Muhammadan meeting has supported him and 4 Muhammadan meetings have opposed him; and one mixed meeting has supported him. This is the analysis of the first and second group of opinions in my own Province, showing that the opinion that I am expressing here to-day, as representative of the Punjab, has the support of the majority of the people of that Province.

" Well, my Lord, so far as the sum total of the opinions of the six major Provinces go, all the Local Governments in the six major Provinces have opposed it; 20 European officials have supported my friend, 134 have opposed him; 16 Hindu officials have supported my friend, 19 have opposed him; 3 Muhammadan officials have supported my friend, 16 have opposed him; 2 European non-officials have supported him, and 7 have opposed him; 37 Hindu non-officials have supported him, 18 have opposed him; 7 Muhammadan non-officials have supported him and 15 have opposed him; 38 Municipalities have supported him, 45 have opposed; 17 District and Rural Boards have supported him and 24 have opposed him. I now come to the meetings: 14 meetings have supported him; 1 Muhammadan meeting has supported him and 8 have opposed him; 21 mixed meetings have supported him and 5 have opposed him. This is the analysis of the first and second group of opinions of these 6 major Provinces excluding those who have approved of the principle of the Bill and have laid down possible and impossible conditions. But there

\* *Vide Appendix A.*

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is one remark made by my Hon'ble friend the correctness of which I am bound to contest. He said that the Indian Press almost without exception had supported his Bill. Well, my Lord, without reference even to the opinions expressed, I can give at least 8 newspapers—Muhammadan newspapers—who have strongly opposed him. The *Afghan* and the *Edward Gazette* of the North-West Frontier Province, *The Paisa Akbar*, the *Millat*, the *Vakil* in the Punjab, the *Albashir* and the *Nayyar-i-Azam* of the United Provinces and the *Muslim* of Bombay have opposed him. He said almost without exception: I daresay he would be able to give the Council a similar number of Muhammadan newspapers who have supported him. Well, I will leave it for him to do this in his reply. But it is clear that without going through the papers, I am giving the Council at least 8 Muhammadan newspapers who have gone against him. This analysis makes it clear that even among the educated classes there is a hopeless conflict of opinion upon the adoption of compulsion as a means for the extension of elementary education in India. In these circumstances, when, apart from the unanimous opinion of all Local Governments and almost all the Directors of Public Instruction in the various Provinces, we have bodies like the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, Bombay Corporation, the Municipal Committee of Lahore, Anjuman-i-Islamiya, Amritsar, British Indian Association, Calcutta, Central National Muhammadan Association, Bengal, Muhammadan Literary Society, Calcutta, Bombay Presidency Muslim League, etc., etc., pronouncing against the Bill, surely there is reason sufficient against precipitate action being taken in this Council.

“My Lord, the main argument put forward in support of compulsion is based upon what has actually happened in self-governing countries. To that argument I have given my answer in the written opinion to which I have already referred. But, in addition, I would like to invite the attention of Hon'ble Members to paragraph 7 of the Madras Government letter, wherein the difference between the conditions prevailing in the Western countries and in Japan at the time of the introduction of compulsion there and the existing conditions in India is fully brought out. But says my Hon'ble friend, in reply, that he does not wish to introduce compulsion throughout the country all at once but would make use of this inquisitorial method only in such areas which are sufficiently well advanced in education. To quote the words used by him when introducing this Bill in the Council last year: ‘In practice, a limit of 33 per cent. will exclude for several years to come all District Boards and will bring within the range only a few of the more advanced Municipalities in larger towns in the different Provinces.’

“Now, so far as the ‘advanced Municipalities’ are concerned, I cannot do better than quote from the opinion recorded by the Bombay Corporation, a local body presided over by that veteran Congress leader Sir Ferozshah Mehta and occupying the most leading position of all Indian Municipalities in educational progress. The Bombay Corporation are of opinion that the method embodied in the Bill is not likely to attain the object in view in a practical and satisfactory manner, and they consider that at present the great need of the country is a strenuous acceleration of the policy of Government to push primary education as rapidly as possible and to adopt a definite policy by which the number of schools can be increased from year to year within a definite period and thus to pave for the proposed measure.’ In other words, the Corporation considers the measure under discussion premature and advocates, at present, a multiplication of elementary schools all over the country as a means of extension of elementary education on a voluntary basis.

“But, my Lord, there is one aspect of this discussion to which I should like to invite special attention. In taking up the position which I am now dealing with, my Hon'ble friend, it seems to me, could not have given sufficient consideration to the serious consequences likely to result from a partial compulsion in urban areas upon the general advancement of the country as a whole. The comparative advancement of one section of our people within limited areas and their relative backwardness in the rest of this vast Continent does not constitute a state of things conducive to the general welfare of the country as a whole.



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Even under existing circumstances, complaints have been frequently heard from certain quarters that the backwardness of our rural areas, the inhabitants of which form the bulk of the Indian population, is taken advantage of by certain persons, belonging to the beaurocratic and other classes, to resist and at any rate to hamper reforms advocated by leaders of the advanced school of Indian thought. The results so lightly contemplated by my Hon'ble friend are not likely to improve the situation. On the contrary, with a more rapid advancement of the urban section of our population and the consequent relative sliding-back of the rural communities, the existing gulf between the two sections of our people will have been widened. There will be a still further lessening of the sympathies, still wider divergence of opinions and feelings between them and the conditions thus resulting will be in the highest degree detrimental to the best interests of the motherland. What India needs most is a steady advance all along the line and this certainly will not be gained by the method advocated by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

"My Lord, is resort to this inquisitorial and irritating method at all necessary even for the patriotic end my Hon'ble friend has in view? As he himself pointed out in the speech delivered by him when introducing his Resolution in March 1910, 'It is well known that our modern educational system dates from the time of the famous despatch of 1854.' Assuming the correctness of the figures given by my Hon'ble friend in that speech, 'at that time' about 9 lakhs of pupils were receiving instruction in indigenous schools,' as estimated by the Education Commission of Lord Ripon's Government. In 1882, according to that estimate, there were about 21½ lakhs of pupils attending primary schools recognized by the Department and, in addition, there were about 3½ lakhs attending unrecognized schools. According to the Education Summary furnished to us the other day by the Education Department, the number of pupils in 1910-1911 had risen to 4,625,890 (not some 40 lakhs as Mr. Gokhale said), presumably in recognized schools. These figures show a steady increase from year to year, in the number of school-going children throughout the country. And now that the Government of India has met the popular demand more than half way by frankly recognizing its paramount duty in respect of a wide diffusion of elementary education among the Indian masses and has taken the first step towards the discharge of that high obligation by making a permanent recurring grant of 50 lakhs a year over and above the ordinary Educational Budget of the country, the rate of progress is bound to be considerably accelerated. As soon as a vast network of schools is established all over the country and elementary education is gradually made free and thus brought within easy reach of the masses, the results achieved will, I feel sure, be in the highest degree satisfactory.

"My Lord, for a most ardent and patriotic mind like that of my Hon'ble friend, it is natural to desire a universal diffusion of elementary education among the mass of our countrymen within as short a time as possible. But in a country like India, inhabited by a heterogeneous mass of population consisting of communities belonging to diverse races and creeds not yet bound together by a community of identical interests, and ruled over by a race belonging to a different religion from across the seas, you cannot within a little over half a century expect to bring about results which even in the case of homogeneous and self-governing races have been reached after centuries of educational progress. In a land such as ours what is really needed is steady and gradual evolution, and not revolution. Nations are like the English oak, magnificent and strong when allowed spontaneous growth in God's free air, dwarfed and hideous if forced to grow in a hot-house: or like the Indian mango-tree, firm and fruit-bearing if nurtured under normal conditions, rootless and fragile if planted under the juggler's cloth as was humourously alluded to by the Hon'ble the Finance Minister the other day. With the gradual harmonization of divergent interests the beginning of which is already visible, with the establishment of a sufficient number of schools and the provision of free elementary education, the first step towards which has already been taken by Government, and in view of the remarkable educational activity

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discernible all around us, let us be full of hope for the future of our country. There is a well-known Punjabi proverb 'Chhetiagge toai,' literally translated 'Deep pits in front of haste,' which applies particularly to transitional periods in the history of a people. My Lord, while fully appreciating the enlightened and patriotic motive which has impelled my Hon'ble friend to put forward this legislation and having myself as great a desire for the wide diffusion of elementary education among the masses of my countrymen as that entertained by him, I feel that I should be untrue to myself and false to the duty which I owe to my people if I were to give my vote in favour of an enactment which, I am sincerely convinced, is premature, impracticable and undesirable in the circumstances at present existing in my country. A great deal of the object which my Hon'ble friend had in view when introducing his Bill last year has already been achieved. I earnestly appeal to him to stop here and to watch with care and vigilance the results of the steps already taken and yet to be taken hereafter for the extension of elementary education on a voluntary basis. In any case, my Lord, while full of admiration for his patriotic zeal in the national cause, I am convinced that the reference of the Bill to a Select Committee will serve no useful purpose and, in consequence, I regret I cannot vote in favour of the motion now before us."

The Council adjourned to Tuesday, the 19th March 1912.

W. H. VINCENT,

*Secretary to the Government of India,  
Legislative Department.*

CALCUTTA;

*The 28th March 1912.*



## APPENDIX A.

Table showing analysis of opinion in Major Provinces referred to in the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. MUHAMMAD SHAFI on the Elementary Education Bill.

Provinces.	LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.		OFFICIALS.						NON-OFFICIALS.						MUNICIPALITIES.		DISTRICT AND OTHER PROVINCIAL BOARDS.		HINDUS.		MUHAMMADANS.		MIXED.	
	For.	Against.	EUROPEANS, ETC.		HINDUS.		MUHAMMADANS.		EUROPEANS, ETC.		HINDUS.		MUHAMMADANS.		For.	Against.	For.	Against.	For.	Against.	For.	Against.	For.	Against.
			For.	Against.	For.	Against.	For.	Against.	For.	Against.	For.	Against.	For.	Against.										
Punjab	...	1	10	85	7	5	2	10	...	1	11	4	2	5	21	31	4	12	3	...	1	4	1	...
United Provinces	...	1	3	35	...	2	1	1	1	2	7	4	...	6	1	...	...	...	5	...	...	1	7	2
Penal	...	1	1	25	4	2	...	...	...	1	6	1	1	...	6	4	...	3	...	...	3	5	1	...
Eastern Bengal	...	1	3	23	3	10	...	5	...	1	4	6	2	2	1	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	2
Madras	...	1	1	4	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	8	11	7	1	...	...	...	1	...
Bombay	...	1	2	12	...	...	...	...	1	2	9	3	2	2	...	1	1	...	5	...	...	...	7	...
TOTAL	...	6	20	134	16	19	3	16	2	7	37	18	7	15	38	45	17	24	14	...	1	8	21	5

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.  
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA, ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 TO 1909 (24 & 25 VICT., c. 67, 55 & 56 VICT., c. 14, AND 9 EDW. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at Government House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 19th March 1912.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble SIR GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.,  
Vice-President, *Presiding*,  
and 55 Members, of whom 48 were Additional Members.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATIONAL BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque: "Sir, before I deal with some of the objections raised against the principles of the Bill, I, as one of the special representatives of the Moslem community, should like to make the attitude of my community clear regarding this important and to my mind entirely beneficent measure; and this becomes all the more necessary, as no less than three Hon'ble Members of this Council professing Islamic faith have expressed adverse opinions, which may lead Hon'ble Members of this Council and people outside to form the wrong notion that the Mussalmans of India, or at any rate a large majority of them, are against my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in his noble attempt to raise the masses of India to a higher level. As it is, we Mussalmans are often taunted with being narrow-minded, sectarian, illiberal and short-sighted in our views. This is the impression of some of our Hindu brethren, and it is to be feared, that even some English statesmen hold similar views. Sir, no more unjust and unfounded charges were brought against a great community. We, the Mussalmans of India, are no more illiberal nor less patriotic than the members of other communities. If any proof is wanted to demonstrate this patent fact, the almost unanimous and enthusiastic support given by the Indian Mussalmans as a community to the Bill should go far to dispel the delusions under which some people labour. Sir, we have two great organizations devoted exclusively to the promotion and advancement of our educational and political interests. The All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, a body almost as old as the Indian National Congress itself, at its two successive sessions at Nagpur and Delhi, supported the principle of free and compulsory education. At Nagpur, the sole dissentient voice was that of my Hon'ble friend behind me, Maulvi Shamsul Huda.



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Last December, when the question was being discussed at Delhi, I was present, and the enthusiasm that prevailed in the meeting would have done the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's heart good to see. And, remember, this was in the Punjab, the very home of Moslem political orthodoxy. My Punjabi co-religionists, in their forcible and vigorous style, enlarged upon the benefits and good points of free and compulsory education. Just a fortnight ago the annual session of the All-India Moslem League was held in the Town Hall of this City of Calcutta, and there again a Resolution approving of the principle of this Bill was carried by a large majority and in the midst of loud and deafening acclamation of the great gathering. At this meeting the opposition was led by no less a gentleman than my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi himself, but be it said to the credit of Moslem intelligence, that his powerful advocacy proved unavailing and produced no effect on the audience. The Moslem community had made up its mind to support my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale, and it did support him without any hesitation and reservation. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi tried to minimise the effect of these important deliberations by saying that only 34 out of 61 members of the League who attended the sessions voted for the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill. Well my Hon'ble friend is a leading member of his profession, and is a master of the art of advocacy, but when he made this statement, he forgot that there were some humbler members of the same profession in this Council who would easily detect the fallacy underlying his argument. He never told us how many of these 61 members were present at the time when the discussion and voting took place. Sir, what happened was this. After a long and heated debate the opponents of the measure challenged a division; the supporters marched into the lobby and were counted. The number was 34. When the turn of the opponents came, knowing full well that they were in a hopeless minority, they had not the courage to vote. They simply refused to vote. At that time, I may say with confidence, that there were not more than two or three members who were on the side of my Hon'ble friend, and they were mostly his personal friends. When the President announced that the Resolution was carried unanimously, the opponents not daring to vote, the whole audience which had filled the Town Hall rose to their feet and made the hall resound with their continued applause. I have never seen such enthusiasm before in my life.

"Another figure was quoted by my Hon'ble friend yesterday, and there also I am sorry to say he was incorrect. He said that at the meeting of the Council of the League which approved the principles of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, only 7 out of a total of 40 members were present. I myself was not present. But my friend Mr. Mohamed Ali, the talented editor of the *Comrade* who was there, assures me that no less than 24 were present, most of whom were in favour of the present Bill."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Shafi:** "Sir, may I be allowed to explain that my learned friend has not understood my statement correctly. What I said was, that the letter was drafted at an adjourned meeting of the Council of the League."

**The President:** "The Hon'ble Member's explanation is developing into a speech. He had ample opportunity to state his case yesterday; and, unless he has a special point to bring forward, I cannot allow the Hon'ble Member to interrupt."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque:** "Thank you, Sir; most of whom were in favour of the present Bill in spite of a long warning telegram from my Hon'ble friend. So much as regards the accuracy of my Hon'ble friend's facts and figures. Sir, perhaps it would not be out of place to mention here that both the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference and the All-India Moslem League have gone one step further than the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale himself. They demand that education should be absolutely free, which it would certainly not be under the present Bill, and I entirely agree with this view. In my humble opinion, no invidious distinction should be made between persons of different incomes, and the full benefit of my Hon'ble friend's scheme cannot be derived unless and until the doors of our schools are freely thrown open to all. But if I know my Hon'ble friend at all—and I hope I know a little of him—he would have been the first

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man to meet the wishes of his Moslem brethren and amend his Bill accordingly if it had gone to the Select Committee. As a matter of fact, my Hon'ble friend himself in his opening speech yesterday expressed his willingness to concede this point. The desire to conciliate official opinion induced him to propose that education should be partially free, but he ought to have known that, in this country, it is almost impossible to conciliate official opinion, and it would have been better if he had stuck to his better judgment and not made the Bill of too modest a character. A further request of the Mussalmans as voiced by these two Institutions is that the interests of Mussalman boys in such matters as language or the teaching of religion or their proper representation on committees and so forth should be safeguarded. Some of the requests—I do not say all, but some of the requests—are exceedingly reasonable, and could have been easily considered and met in the Select Committee. On this point my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi with a comprehensive and rather contemptuous sweep of hand pointed his finger at me and warned me to be careful in giving my support to the Bill. He is surprised that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has accepted only one of the demands of the Moslem community in the matter of details. Well, I confess that the warning has been absolutely thrown away upon me. I am one who, in legal parlance, is called an old offender, and I am afraid there is no hope of my reformation. Never have I feared official frowns, nor have I courted popular applause. I have no higher ambition in life than to serve, in my own humble way and according to my own light, the cause of my country and my people, and I assure my Hon'ble friend that his warning is so much waste of energy which he might well have reserved for a better and more hopeful cause. Sir, this is not the proper time for a discussion of the details of the Bill. As a matter of fact, under the Rules for the Conduct of Legislative Business of this Council, only the principle of the Bill can be discussed at this stage, and any member who attempted to discuss details would be out of order. My Hon'ble friend will pardon me for reminding him that he is new to the Council, and he is not as yet fully conversant with its rules and procedure. Instead of treating the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in the manner that he did yesterday, it would have been better for his reputation in this Council, if he had accepted the interpretation of its seniormost member who, by his single-mindedness and devotion to duty has earned the respect of official and non-official members alike. We are discussing the Bill to-day under rule 21 of the Rules for the Conduct of Legislative Business of the Council of the Governor General, which runs thus :

'On the day on which such motion is made'.

"Here the word 'such' refers to one of the motions mentioned in rule 19, which says :

'When a Bill is introduced, or on some subsequent occasion, the Member in charge of it shall make one or more of the following motions :

(a) that it be referred to a Select Committee.'

"A reference to the Select Committee is the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. Well, rule 21 says, 'on the day on which such motion is made or on any subsequent day to which the discussion is postponed, the principle of the Bill and its general provisions may be discussed.' What my Hon'ble friend did was that after a few autobiographical sketches he began to attack the Bill from its very title. I am precluded by law from following my Hon'ble friend in his rambling excursion, but I am anxious to remove any misapprehension that may arise later on in the minds of the Moslem community that their views were not properly put before the Council. I assure them from my place here that everyone of their demands would have been represented if the Bill had been allowed to go to the Select Committee. At this stage we cannot enter into details.

"Sir, after the unanimous support of the two principal associations of the Mussalmans of India, no doubt should remain in the mind of anyone that the Mussalmans generally fully support the measure. But if any further proof is wanted, I am ready to supply it to this Council. My Hon'ble friend



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Mr. Shafi has referred to some newspapers which he said have opposed the principle of compulsion. Well, I appeal to the Hon'ble Members of this Council to say if they have ever, even by chance, heard the names of most of these journals which he mentioned yesterday. They are all vernacular papers, except the *Muslim* of Poona, and the less said about this paper the better. Perhaps my Hon'ble friends Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Bhurgri, who come from Bombay, will be able to enlighten us as to the influence of this paper in their province. Well, we find in this list the names of such respectable and widely-circulated papers as the *Comrade*, the *Mussalman* and the *Observer* conspicuous by their absence. These are the journals which are the real representatives of Moslem public opinion. Let us see what they have to say upon this question. All these papers have been consistently supporting the Bill since its introduction in this Council. That ever-brilliant weekly the *Comrade*, in a series of able and well-reasoned articles, has discussed the question both from the Moslem and the Indian points of view, and correctly described the general attitude of its community. In one article it says that those Mussalmans who oppose the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill do so not in their representative capacity, but as private individuals. This is the passage which perhaps my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi will pardon me for reading, because his name happens to be mentioned in it. I cannot omit the sentence, otherwise the passage will become meaningless. In its issue of the 22nd July, the talented editor in his usual trenchant style says :

'In the present case the 'compulsion' phrase has been discovered to damn the Bill by those who are in reality no more than the enemies of light and emancipation. What has surprised us most is the opposition offered by a number of Muhammedan public men and newspapers to the Bill. The Moslem community alone amongst the Indian communities has spontaneously declared in favour of a special educational cess, in several sessions of its educational conference. Again, with but one dissentient voice, it has affirmed the principle of compulsory primary education through its most accredited organ the Moslem League in its Nagpore session. If then the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, or the Right Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali in telegraphic sympathy with Mr. Shafi, chooses to declare against this Bill, he is simply declaring his own individual opinion, and not the opinion of the Moslem community. We know what the views of the community and of the majority of its leaders are on this important question, and anyone going against the Bill would in fact be going against the wishes of the Moslem community as a whole.'

"Sir, the editor does not in the least mince his words, but goes straight to the point.

"I will take this Council to the Province of my Hon'ble friend—the Punjab. Let us see what the leading journal of his own Province says on this important question. The *Observer* of Lahore is no less emphatic than the *Comrade* in support of the Bill. In its issue of the 14th June 1911, it says :

'There seems to be an impression abroad that Indian Muhammedans disapprove of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill on elementary education. Nothing could be farther from facts. We are, therefore, naturally anxious to take this opportunity of publicly and clearly stating that our co-religionists are not and cannot be opposed to a measure as to the beneficent character of which there can be no two opinions, though some people may doubt its expediency, or may suggest slight modifications in its provisions. Indeed, we think we can go a step further and declare unhesitatingly that the Bill will perhaps benefit no community to the same extent as the Mussalmans, and that in proportion to the good which it is calculated to do them will be the measure of their support of its principles. Without entering into a detailed discussion of the Bill to-day,—a discussion which we reserve for another occasion—we would content ourselves with removing the misunderstanding referred to above and with according emphatic support to its main points on behalf of those whom we have the privilege to represent. By nature and habit the Mussalmans are not a noisy people, and they are not prone to giving vociferous expression to their views. Lest, however, silence at this juncture be misconstrued into disagreement, we have no hesitation in stating in the name of the Indian Muslims that, notwithstanding the opposition of a few individuals here and there (I do not know who were the 'individuals here and there' whom the learned editor had in mind when he wrote), the principle of compulsion in elementary education, as provided for in the Bill, commands their unstinted approval. We cannot, of course, overlook the fact that the subject of free and compulsory education is attended with great difficulties, and we must also point out that the time has not come when compulsion can with advantage be resorted to in the case of girls. There are one or two other points where we are not in full agreement with the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. But barring these matters of detail, we are

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positive we are voicing the general opinion of our co-religionists in saying that the Bill which will be an enabling measure only, is a step in the right direction, that it is in the best interests of the country, and that its enforcement will prove of enormous advantage to the backward classes, including the Indian Muhammadans." And so on.

"These are the views of Moslem Punjab. In clear, ringing tones it announces the views of Moslem India. I could multiply these quotations indefinitely, but I refrain from doing so lest I exhaust the patience of this Council. Only last month a huge mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Lahore was convened under the presidentship of that popular poet and erudite scholar Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, Barrister-at-law, and Resolutions were passed in favour of this Bill. It appears to me that my Hon'ble friend's followers have risen in revolt against him and thrown him overboard. Sir, let us see what are the views of the Moslems of Eastern Bengal and Assam, as there are a very large number of them in that Province. Let us see what they say on that point. Their accredited leader, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Dacca in his presidential address at the All-India Moslem League at Satkira, observed as follows :

'The question of a system of free primary education for the masses has been agitating the minds of the leaders of Indian thought for some time. In my opinion, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has rendered a signal service to the future of primary education in this country by the elaborate scheme he has worked out, and which he has so ably formulated in his Bill. I feel it my duty to accord my whole-hearted sympathy to the principle of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, for I feel convinced that, unless some action is taken in the way suggested by Mr. Gokhale, the cause of primary education will continue to be relegated to the cold shade of neglect.'

"And this Council may rest assured that what the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Dacca thinks to-day, the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal will think to-morrow. And, Sir, last, but not least, the accepted and trusted leader of the Mussalmans of India, His Highness the Aga Khan, has given his powerful and whole-hearted support to the principle of compulsion in education. In his speech at the Delhi session of the All-India Muhammedan Education Conference, His Highness remarked that :

'No country can ever flourish or make its mark as a nation as long as the principle of compulsion is absent.'

"To my mind this is the last word of the Mussalmans of India on the present question, and it is not right for any one to say that they do not desire the principle of compulsion to be introduced into the education of their children. My friend Mr. Gokhale may well be proud of having this powerful support on his side. Sir, the other day my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsul Huda called upon my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah to resign his seat on this Council, simply because my Hon'ble friend had committed the unpardonable sin of supporting Mr. Basu in his Special Marriage Bill, the provisions of which are said to be against the views held by the Mussalmans generally, and I noticed that my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi approved of this by a stentorian 'hear, hear.' Well, perhaps, my Hon'ble friends did not then think that they were laying down a dangerous principle which may be applied to them one day, and that nemesis would overtake them so soon. If they are consistent and still believe in their principle, I call upon them in the name of the Mussalmans of India to resign their seats, as in this matter they certainly do not represent the views of their constituents. Far, far be it from me to subscribe to this curious principle. To do so would be to convert the Hon'ble Members of this Council into mere gramophone machines with the well-known trade-mark of 'His Master's voice' affixed to their lips, or to degrade them to the position of what Edmund Burke called 'local agents'. If this principle was applied in our elections, it would be impossible to find any man with a spark of self-respect in him to come forward and be elected to any representative assembly. I myself believe in freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of conscience. If my Hon'ble friends will pardon my presumption in saying so, they are valuable and able acquisitions to this Council, and they have a right to be heard with respect and admiration. I see no reason why any popular representative in this Council should be suppressed in expressing his views on the plea that he is not representing the views of his constituency. At the same time, it is incumbent upon us to show clearly



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when we differ from the majority of our constituents, that we are giving our individual opinions. I am afraid none of my Hon'ble friends have done this. I myself have had the misfortune to differ from the majority of my Moslem brethren on one or two questions, but I have taken special care, whenever I have spoken on those subjects, to tell the public that I was expressing my own personal views. Sir, I have done with this part of my speech. I hope I have fully demonstrated the fact that the Mussalmans of India as a community support the principle of free and compulsory education as embodied in the Bill of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale, and the throwing out of this Bill will be as much a source of disappointment to them as to any other community in India.

"Let me now pass on to a few of the general objections against this measure. It is said that the British Government of India, being a foreign Government, cannot afford to pass a compulsory measure of this kind, as it would make the Government exceedingly unpopular. Well, to confess frankly, I do not believe a word of this argument. To me it is inconceivable that a measure enacted with the avowed intention of raising the people from the lowest depth of degradation, and initiated and supported by the educated Indians themselves, could possibly rouse popular feeling against the Government. But it is said that agitators will be given a handle to incite the ignorant classes against British rule. Well, there are some people who have agitators on their brain, and do what they will, they cannot get rid of them. Their activities in this direction are bound to die an ignominious death. The entire educated community cannot be expected to sit with folded hands and see their glorious work shattered by a few unscrupulous fanatics without raising their powerful influence against such a sacrilegious act. No, the thing is utterly unthinkable, and I cannot persuade myself to believe even in the possibility of such a fantastic state of affairs. People who for untold generations have looked upon their Pundits and Maulvis as sacred personages, who have surrounded the authors of books with the halo of sanctity, and who have bowed their heads before learning with reverence cannot suddenly be converted into opponents of education. This argument of the unpopularity of the Government is the bogey created out of some people's imagination simply to frighten the Government and the timid and the nervous among the Indians. It is too puerile to be seriously considered. Indeed, the British Government have never shrunk from doing their duty with manliness and courage, and they should not do so in this instance. They are strong enough to be brave and to live down all unreasonable opposition. As a matter of fact, I am firmly convinced that the passing of this measure will raise the Government in the estimation of the people, and make them highly popular.

"Then, Sir, the stock-plea of want of funds, which crops up on every possible occasion, is to be considered. When the Government of India are determined to carry out a scheme of their own, however expensive it may be, they never lack money ; but the moment they are confronted with a popular demand, they bring out this eternal argument as an unsurmountable barrier. Take, for instance, the latest demand on the Imperial exchequer in connection with the removal of the capital from Calcutta. What an immense amount of money will be required to build up the new Imperial Delhi, so as to make it a capital worthy of the great Indian Empire, and still, Sir, you are going to provide this enormous sum. Please let me not be misunderstood. I am not speaking against the recent changes—"

**The President :** "The Hon'ble Member must confine himself to the question before the Council, which is the Education Bill, and not the transfer to Delhi."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque :** "I was arguing merely by way of analogy. I am not speaking against the recent changes brought about by the announcement of our King-Emperor at Delhi."

**The President :** "The Hon'ble Member's attention is called to the fact that I have given a ruling on that point ; he is perfectly at liberty to mention

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the transfer to Delhi as an illustration, but he is not at liberty to dwell on it, once he has alluded to it."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque :** "Very well, I leave that point.

"I am giving an example of how the finances of the country are managed, and how money can easily be found when Government want it for any project they have in view. The amount required for the purpose of making primary education universal—and it cannot be made universal unless it is made free and compulsory—is no doubt a very large one; but it is a mistake to suppose that the whole amount will be required immediately, and in one lump sum. The attainment of this noble ideal must take years, even decades, to be achieved, and by the time that happy day arrives in India when every man, woman and child will be able to read and write, it is hoped that this country will have made such strides in trades, commerce, industry and general prosperity that it will be able to bear the burden easily. The great thing is that the principle should be recognised, and a beginning should be made; and for this modest object the money can be easily supplied by the Government.

"Another objection to the Bill is that it provides for fresh local taxation. In reply to this, I can only say that the Mussalman community have already shown their willingness to be taxed for the expansion of education, and I refuse to believe that the Hindus are less patriotic or more backward than their Mussalman countrymen to object to pay their share of the taxes for this great movement. This is the test by which the patriotism of big landholders, merchants and commercial and wealthy people of the country will be tried, and if they fail in that test, India will form her own opinion about them.

"Now I come to another point which has been urged against the adoption of free and compulsory education in India. It is fairly stated that the more money is spent on primary education, the less will be forthcoming for higher education. I am afraid that this sort of argument is exceedingly unjust to the Government of India. It betrays an unreasonable distrust and suspicion of their often-repeated declarations and pledges. It was only two days ago that His Excellency the Viceroy, presiding at the Convocation of the Calcutta University, was pleased to say :

'Impressed by the considerations which are not peculiar to the Calcutta University and remembering the stirring words which His Imperial Majesty addressed to the members of our Senate, the Government of India have decided to make a solid advance in the direction of teaching and residential universities.'

"Further on, His Excellency said :

'I also hope as I have already said that teaching and residential universities may be multiplied throughout India, for I believe that they will do great things for the improvement of higher education.'

"And later on, Sir, again His Excellency was pleased to say as regards education other than higher :

'I can only assure you that we have in view a policy which embraces every branch of education,—technical education, primary education, female education, and which, as the schemes mature and funds become available, we desire to carry through in consultation with Local Governments.'

"Does this show any desire on the part of the Government of India to starve higher education, in favour of primary education, and is it conceivable that they will go behind these solemn pledges of their own? The fear is baseless, and I need not detain the Council on this point.

"One more point and I have done. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in his speech refrained from discussing the application of the provisions of the Bill to girls on the ground that it was a matter of detail. I consider it as an integral part of the measure, and if that goes, I shall lose half of my enthusiasm about it. In one of the papers supplied to us the compulsory education of girls has been described as one of the most objectionable features of the Bill: I believe it was the opinion of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi. To my mind, it is one of its most welcome features. You cannot regenerate a country without raising the status of the women of that country. And what is the fear after all? The mistrust of little girls of from 6 to 10 years of age. Sir, I hope every man of light and leading, be he a European or



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Indian, will set his face against such immoral doctrines and monstrous sentiments. Forces of bigotry and fanaticism have to be fought in this country, and we want our Government to be on our side. I hope that the next time a similar Bill is brought, either by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale or someone else, the clause about the education of our girls will not be omitted. No doubt, prejudices will have to be humoured for some time in this country, and perhaps little children will have to be sent to schools in closed carriages and palanquins, and educated in schools surrounded by high walls. But we cannot afford to neglect the education of our girls; this must go hand in hand with the education of our boys.

"Sir, in conclusion, I say that I am not unmindful of the sincere and earnest efforts of the Government of India to extend primary education in this country. I am obliged to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler for his sympathetic treatment of the whole subject. I am grateful to him for his noble declarations which will be read by thousands and hundreds of thousands with pleasure and gratitude. But I believe that we shall not achieve our goal unless the element of compulsion is introduced in our system of education. I believe with His Highness the Aga Khan that 'no country can flourish or can make its mark as a nation as long as the principle of compulsion is not introduced.' On this ground, I strongly support the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill, and I regret that Government has not seen their way to accept it. The time will surely come when the overwhelming weight of public opinion will force the hands of Government to accept the measure and pass it into law."

**The Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad :** "Sir, after the masterly and eloquent speech which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale delivered yesterday while introducing the motion in this Council, I think there is not much left for me to say anything in support of the cause which he has so ably advocated. The Bill now before us has, I am glad to say, met with a large measure of support in the country, and as it has already been pointed out by some of the Hon'ble Members yesterday, the two great political organisations of this country, namely, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League, have recently passed Resolutions in support of this measure. My friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Haque, has already referred to the fate which the opposition led by the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi has met in the Moslem League. The Madras Presidency Moslem League, of which my friend the Prince of Arcot is the President, has also passed a Resolution unanimously approving of the principles of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, and the Secretary of the Muslim League is also one of the Secretaries of the Elementary Education League which was started a few months ago in Madras with the object of spreading elementary education. Now, with regard to the warning which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi gave to the representatives of my community in this Council, my Hon'ble friend Mr. Haque has replied at some length, and I do not propose to deal with it. But I will say only one word with regard to the assertion which he made that his vote is the vote of the clear majority of the non-official members of the Punjab Legislative Council. I can only express my regret that my Hon'ble friend the Prince of Arcot is not here to-day to say in reply that his vote is the unanimous vote not only of the Madras Muslim League, but also of the entire Muhammadan community of my Presidency. But, Sir, I am in a position to assure the Council that we in Madras are unanimous in thinking that the time has come when a beginning, however guarded and modest, be now made in this direction.

"I fully appreciate the value of the recurring grant of Rupees 50 lakhs made by the Government and feel grateful for it, and I am also grateful to the Hon'ble Member in charge of education for the statement he made yesterday, which is full of sympathy and hope. But what is now wanted is to place the scheme of spreading elementary education on a sound footing, and the Hon'ble Member has not said as to how he is going to do it. I say this can only be done by an Act of this Council. As was pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale there are two courses open to the Government. They should either allow this Bill to pass through the Council with some modifications and alterations, or to put forward a measure of their own. But as the Hon'ble Member in charge has

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not given the slightest indication of bringing a Government measure before this Council in the near future or within a reasonable period, I would request the Government and the Council to let this Bill go to the Select Committee where it will be thoroughly and critically examined. I recognise the difference of opinion that exists regarding this Bill, but I think there is no difficulty in improving its provisions, and the Government can easily reserve the right of only accepting what they require.

"It will be a sad thing, Sir, if the Bill is thrown out at this stage. I feel bound to say, and I say with much regret, that the throwing out of this Bill will create a painful impression, and I am obliged to state that it will counteract the excellent effects which His Majesty's and His Excellency the Viceroy's noble pronouncements on education had produced in the country."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao :** "Sir, I spoke on this subject on two occasions during the last two years, and I did not consider it necessary to speak to-day, but after the severe criticism to which the Bill has been subjected, I feel bound not to give a silent vote in favour of the motion. We are much indebted, Sir, to the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoi and the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis who opened the opposition to the Bill for the pains they took in studying the voluminous correspondence on the subject and cataloguing all possible objections against the Bill, even including the objection, started by one of them, that the tropical climate of India is unsuited to the principle of compulsion found so successful in Western countries.

"It is said, Sir, that there is no demand for compulsory education. I wish to draw the attention of the Council to the Resolutions of the Indian National Congress, passed during the last five years from 1906 onwards, praying that elementary education may be made free and gradually compulsory. Attention has already been drawn by my Hon'ble friends, the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad and the Hon'ble Mr. Haque, to the attitude of the Muhammadan community towards this important question and to the resolutions passed by the All-India Moslem League as well as Provincial Moslem Leagues in favour of compulsory education. Since the Bill has been before the country, the weight and volume of non-official opinion, in my opinion, are distinctly in favour of the Bill. We must remember, Sir, that we have not yet learnt Western methods of vociferation, and intelligent public opinion in this country ought not to be misjudged by the absence of clamour so much in evidence in the West. I may say, Sir, without exaggeration that during my public life of over thirty years, I have not come across a measure which has aroused so much enthusiasm in its favour. It is not right, therefore, to say that the country or the weight of non-official opinion is against the Bill.

"You will permit me, Sir, to take notice of some of the more important objections to the Bill. One objection is that by introducing compulsion the spread of education will be checked and rural tracts starved for want of funds. It is assumed that once the Bill becomes law, there will be a large demand for the enforcement of the law in advanced areas, such as municipalities, and the Government will not be in a position to supply funds for purposes of education in rural tracts. This is indeed a poor compliment to the statesmanship and administrative ability of the Department over which the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler so ably presides. Surely it is not the intention of even the most ardent supporters of this measure that the funds at the disposal of the Government should be so distributed as to retard the progressive spread of education in backward areas. At the worst, the Government would equitably distribute and adjust the funds at their disposal between the claims of the advanced areas where the law is to be enforced and those of backward areas where it is not. As regards the objection of inequality, Sir, may I ask what is the result of the present system of distribution? Is it not a fact there are glaring inequalities now in the amounts of financial help rendered to the different provinces, districts, taluks and villages? Such inequalities are bound to continue under any system of distribution, so long as human intelligence is not of the same level, and the wants of different areas vary.

"It is then said, Sir, that the Act will be a dead letter, as the school attendance committees with so many powers for exemption as are provided in the



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Bill will shrink from the unpopularity and odium of enforcing the bye-laws against their neighbours. That may be so for some time in the beginning. In fact the object of the Bill is that these bodies should try all means of persuasion and warning before resorting to coercive processes. But in order that their persuasion and warning may be effectual, it is necessary to arm them with legislative authority to proceed against obstinate parents before a magistrate. This power in reserve is exactly what gives weight to the advice and persuasion of these bodies. In Japan and Ireland, the boasted influence of persuasion is mainly due, I submit, to the fact that there is a law which can be set in motion in the last resort. Even in England, it is persuasion backed up by the power of compulsion that has done a vast amount of good in spreading education. In this connexion, I make no apology for quoting at some length from the report of the Commissioners, who enquired into the working of Elementary Education Acts in England and Wales in 1888. From this it will appear that the shortcomings of the people are not confined to this country alone. They say :

‘ We fully admit that the present system is very lax, and cannot for a moment be compared with the real compulsory enforcement of school attendance in Germany, and in some other parts of Europe, where it has entered into the habits of the people, so as to secure a regularity of attendance which seems to our teachers and managers quite ideal.

‘ We admit that in many cases the school attendance committees, largely composed of farmers, are not very forward either in appointing or in duly paying school attendance officers, and that their sympathy with education is not always very earnest.

‘ We admit that the small rural Boards are very reluctant to summon their neighbours for not sending their children to school, and that not unfrequently members of the Board may be offenders against the law by employing children who should be at school.

‘ We agree with the complaint so general from the witnesses and in the answers to our circulars, that school attendance committees and school boards are constantly discouraged by the action of magistrates, who frequently refuse to convict or who inflict nominal penalties when the law has been plainly and frequently broken. We think, moreover, that stipendiary magistrates have often disregarded the law quite as much as the unpaid justices, especially in London.

‘ While therefore we hope that school boards, school attendance committees and magistrates will remember that it is their duty to enforce the law, and that to educate the young is the greatest security for relieving and removing the pauperism and the degradation which are now blots on our society, we look rather to the growth of public opinion in favour of education than to increased legal penalties for securing regular attendance at our schools. Moreover, it must not be supposed that the law of compulsory attendance is inoperative because it is rarely enforced and even then not always efficiently. We believe that a vast amount has been done, in consequence of the existence of the compulsory bye-laws, to induce parents, by persuasion and warning to send their children regularly to school.

‘ I submit, Sir, the above extracts speak for themselves.

‘ It is also complained, Sir, that there is a deficiency of trained teachers to meet even the present wants, and that this legislation will aggravate the evil and ought not to be undertaken unless there is an adequate supply of good teachers. A similar objection is made with regard to the want of suitable school accommodation. These objections appear to me somewhat incomprehensible. Does anybody seriously expect that at any time there will be an army of trained teachers waiting for employment as soon as a Bill like this is passed into law? This finding of teachers is a slow process, and we have to manage with them as best we can. There is plenty of material in the country which will suffice to meet our wants, and this material will grow gradually as the demand increases. After all the Bill does not require any local body to enforce compulsion in their area unless it has previously satisfied the Department that it has provided sufficient school accommodation and is in a position to secure the necessary teaching staff. Speaking of school accommodation, I must say that like other branches of British administration, the Education Department also is making exorbitant demands unsuited to the poverty of the country, the necessities of this climate and the traditions of our indigenous system of education. In no branch of education is this tendency to extravagance more harmful to progress and economy than in the primary department. I deprecate, therefore, that the question of school accommodation should be brought forward as a bugbear in connexion with this Bill. Such difficulties were felt in the beginning by all countries that adopted compulsion. I shall in this connexion

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quote from 'The making of the citizen' by Mr. R. S. Hughes, published in 1906.

"Speaking of school buildings in England, he says :

'It is impossible to speak in general terms of English school buildings. They vary enormously, from the uncomfortable, cold, damp village school house, which has so many functions in life to fulfil, up to the magnificent, palatial structures which the great progressive boards of England and Wales have erected for the use of their future citizens. Poor school buildings are not peculiar to England; they are to be found in America, France and Germany, and but little satisfaction can be gained by a prolonged contemplation of them. It may, however, be stated that the rural districts of England do not monopolise them. Indeed, too often they are found in the centre of our largest cities.'

Speaking of the teaching staff, he says :

'The fair sex is greatly preponderant (some of my Hon'ble friends dilated on the advantages of the preponderance of the fair sex in England, and it is worth while to hear what he has to say on this matter). A class of teachers known as 'Article 68's' are untrained and uncertificated women teachers over 18 years of age. They form one of the weakest spots in the English educational system.....The employment of these unqualified people under Article 68 is the despair of all true educators in England to-day. Too often indeed is the school made the dumping ground of aspiring incompetence. They were 30,000 in 1892, and 50,000 in 1900, i.e., 26 per cent. and 32.7 per cent. respectively of the total teaching staff.'

Then speaking of Germany, he says :

'That there are many poor and insanitary school buildings in Prussia is well known.

'Staffing. The normal size of a class in Prussia is fixed at 70 for the urban class teacher, and 80 for the normal class teacher. It is when these conditions are not met that the class becomes technically overcrowded. In 1896, there were 17,165 'overcrowded' classes in Prussia with 1,390,525 pupils. Class-rooms too are not enough: in the rural districts 150 classes had only 100 class-rooms. The result is the general adoption throughout large parts of rural Germany of the half-day school.

'It is calculated that to provide every class in Prussia with a teacher of its own, and to reduce each class to its normal size of 70 or 80 children, would require the appointment of 20,000 more Prussian teachers!'

"It is idle therefore to expect perfection in such matters at the outset in this country, when advanced countries like England and Germany have not been able to perfect their organisation even after decades of compulsory education.

"I shall now turn, Sir, to the eloquent exposition of the policy of the Government of India as outlined by the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education. We are grateful to the Government for their resolute determination 'to spread schools throughout the land and to raise and make more practical the whole character of our primary education,' and 'to combat ignorance through the length and breadth of this ancient land.' The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has set up the goal of universal literacy as recognised in Western countries and in Japan. Has the Hon'ble Member for Education this same goal in view as a result of the policy of expansion he has outlined? Otherwise there is no agreement between him and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. If he has the same goal, as I hope and trust he has, how does he propose to reach it? What is the alternative he proposes, when he rejects the proposal of compulsion as contained in this Bill? According to the policy of diffusion which he has set forth, when does he hope to reach the goal and attain the level to which Japan, England and other civilised countries have risen. I am afraid that, so long as he is content merely with this policy of expansion, we can never hope to see, even in distant future, even after a century or more, India placed nearly on the same footing as other civilised countries. May I request the Hon'ble Member for Education to make a definite statement on the subject?

"The Hon'ble Member has dwelt on the important question of cost. It is curious that those who say that the Bill will be ineffective and will not be availed of by the public, should urge that when the permissive power of compulsion is given, the funds required would be prohibitive and that therefore the Bill should be rejected. On this point we have to remember that the principle of compulsion under the Bill will be introduced on the initiative of a local body subject to the sanction of the Local Government under rules framed by the Government of India, and thus the extension of this principle



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is a slow process and the Government has the right to lay a definite programme of reaching the whole country in a period of, say, 20 or even 30 years. Thus the moneys required will be spread over a large number of years, and the amount required will be well within the means of the Government. I may venture to say that the Government will not be doing their duty by the country if they cannot rise to the occasion and take in hand this important scheme which has to be worked out, not spasmodically or suddenly but progressively over a number of years. Sir, it appears to me that this is eminently one of those cases where, if there is a will, there is a way. Have not the Government taken precautions to provide against the threatened extinction of the opium revenue amounting to several crores of rupees, purely on humanitarian grounds? Have not the Government, for the healthy development of provincial autonomy, announced by a bold stroke of far-seeing statesmanship important administrative changes whose beneficent effects will be felt only as time passes by, and with this object in view, do not the Government provide the expenditure of crores of rupees for the construction of the new capital at Delhi? Is the banishment of illiteracy in this country a less sacred duty, and should it not be undertaken boldly in the face of official pessimism and discouragement? I cannot, Sir, persuade myself that the question of funds stands in the way of the Government. It is unfortunate that the Government is at present weighed down by the opinions of Local Governments and cannot make up their mind now to move forward on the path of compulsion, which appears to me to be the only way of surely and speedily reaching the goal, which I take it both the Government and the people have in view.

"It seems to me that the Government of India feel some nervousness in committing themselves to legislation in this matter, as it would bind them to a definite policy on which they cannot go back, whereas, if the matter is left to executive action, they would have a free hand to shape their policy according to their pleasure or necessity. Now, Sir, if there is one matter more than another in regard to which we want the Government of India to lay down a definite line of policy and be bound to it, it is in the matter of education, vitally affecting the future of India, a concern, above all others, to be preserved from the mutations of policy or the idiosyncracies of the authorities for the time being.

"I submit, Sir, that we value the Bill, more on account of the principle of self-help which it embodies. We are anxious that this principle of self-help should form an integral part of the educational policy of the Government. I venture to say that what is most needed at present for the real progress of education in this country is not so much the single-handed efforts of the Government, however strenuous and generous they may be, as the cordial co-operation of the people in the task which the Government and the enlightened public have so much at heart. How can their labours in this great cause fructify unless the principle of compulsion is accepted, which carries with it the principle of self-help. It is then that the interest of the people will be enlisted in the cause of education, and they will be induced to take an active part in devising a system suited to their requirements. Sir, though the Government is at present resolved to move only on the lines on which they have so long been going on, I, for one, find no cause of despair. The Government is firmly resolved, as far as they can, to banish illiteracy from the land and bring light and comfort into the homes of the poor and the humble. I fully trust that the Government will speedily take up this question of compulsion into its own hands, and introduce legislation on the subject with such safeguards as they may think proper."

The Secretary, with the permission of the President, read out the following speech on behalf of the Hon'ble the Raja of Partabgarh :

"Sir, in this very Council I twice advocated the principles underlying the measure introduced by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale, but I am very sorry that the majority of the community I have the honour to represent, and

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men of experience who have the knowledge of the facts, consider it premature. I am, therefore, unable to accord my support to the motion before the Council."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah :** "Sir, I do not think that anybody in this Council can deny the paramount importance of this measure. It has been said that this Bill is going to be thrown out. It is very often said in this Council that, unless Government are willing to accept any Resolution or any measure, it cannot be passed in this Council. Now I for one do not wish in any way to taunt Government in this matter. The Council as it is constituted now, we know perfectly well that the intention is not that in this Council we can defeat the Government and replace the Government bench by the people of this country, by non-official members. Council as it is constituted now, it is well understood that it is impossible to appeal to the Council and ask them to vote on any Resolution or measure according to their own convictions; but the sole function to which the non-official members—a minority—are reduced in this Council is only to express their views on all questions that come before this Council. That being the sole function to which I am reduced here, I think that on an important measure of this character I should not give my silent vote, but should express my views and give my reasons in support of this Bill. I regret very much that some of my countrymen are opposed to this Bill. Well, Sir, it is our misfortune that there should be this difference of opinion. One thing I can assure this Council of, and that is this, that great and overwhelming majority of my people are with me. When I was speaking on the Marriage Bill the other day, I frankly and openly admitted that I was supporting a minority, that the majority of my people were opposed to that measure. But my innermost convictions were in favour of that measure, and I felt it my duty to support the motion. In the same spirit I ask those who are opposed to this Bill to concede to me that great majority of my countrymen, Hindus and Mussalmans, are in favour of and support the Bill. That being so, Sir, I have a double satisfaction: not only my innermost convictions are in favour of this Bill, which shall always be the first and foremost consideration with me either in opposing or supporting a measure, but I have the additional happiness that even the opinion of my countrymen, of the majority of them, is in favour of it. Sir, a very great deal has been said about the merits of this Bill. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale—whom, if I may, I take the liberty of congratulating for the able and masterly way in which he has dealt with this question, and for the services that he has rendered to the country, and I only pray that India may have many more sons like him—has laid down here clearly that the cardinal principle of this Bill is the introduction of compulsion in selected areas. To that what is the answer of the Government? The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, whose reply was not very pleasing to me, but at the same time it was not very displeasing—it was what I would call middling—the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler said that as to the ends that we have in view, we are at one, but only we differ as to the means and the ways. And the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler said that to Government it seems that the best way and means to achieve that end which we all desire, namely, to kill the enemy of ignorance, would be the extension, the gradual extension, with a little more speed than we have been going for the last 150 years, namely, the gradual extension of the principle of the voluntary system. Well, Sir, the real issue therefore—and I wish to draw the attention of the Council to the real issues: I do not wish to deal with individual members—that you have got before the Council to-day is this: is this method which the Government suggest the best method, is that the proper method or not? Now, Sir, my answer is this, and I think it will be conceded in this Council in all fairness, and it has been conceded outside this Council in all fairness, that one of the greatest reproaches against the British rule is the neglect of elementary education in this country. We have been under the British rule for the last 150 years, and, Sir, the figures that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has given to this Council more than once show in what condition, in what state, the elementary education of the country at present is. We have been trying this system, namely, the principle of the extension of the voluntary system, for the last 50 years or 60 years seriously, and we know what has been



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the result. In one word, in one sentence, if I may say so, you are going at a jog-trot pace, and that jog-trot pace we object to. By this method you have shown conclusively, and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has shown conclusively by figures, that it will take 175 years in order to get all the school-going age children to school, and 600 years to get all the girls to school. I do not wish to be misunderstood here for a single moment. I do not wish to minimise the efforts of the Government. I fully recognize that within the last few years the Education Member, full-fledged sitting there now, was created before many of us expected that happy state of things in this Council. I do not dispute, Sir, that efforts have been made. The announcement by our King-Emperor of the grant of 50 lakhs of rupees for elementary education at the Delhi Durbar was most welcome. If I may say so with great deference, these accelerated methods which have been adopted have come into force recently and are largely due to no little spur from the non-official criticism for which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale deserves all credit. But once this measure is rejected, once we are relegated to the principle of voluntary system, I have no doubt the Government will do all they can, but it will not be the same as having the principle of compulsion introduced in this country. Therefore I say, Sir, that the question is this. We are not satisfied that the methods and ways that you suggest are the best. We are convinced that the progress will be inordinately slow, and we are convinced that there is no salvation for the masses unless the principle of compulsion is introduced into this country. In no country has elementary education become universal without compulsion. But the answer of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler is, the time has not come (of course he does not indicate when the time will come, that is left in obscurity, for which he deserves great credit), he says, first of all, you cannot compare India with other countries of the world. I admit that the conditions of India are in certain respects different from the conditions of other countries of the world. But I think even the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler will admit that the people of India, if I may say so, belong to the same species, namely, human beings; in that respect I think we resemble all other nations of the world, and all other countries. And if the conditions of India are different, which I concede to a certain extent, surely therein comes the statesman, therein comes the politician: it is his business to meet those special conditions, and to provide safeguards which are necessary. It is no use saying, India is different, India has got a number of languages, a number of castes, a number of creeds. What has this got to do with the number of castes, religions and creeds? We have no doubt to take these conditions into consideration and provide for them, and I appeal to the statesmen. Then the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler gave certain figures. I am not dealing with the case of England or the Philippine Islands. He dealt with the case of Ceylon, Baroda and other places. Well, I understand that some of the figures which Sir Harcourt Butler gave us are not quite correct; but as the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is a specialist in statistics and figures, I propose to leave it to him when he comes to deal with the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler in reply. All I say is that the figures are not, as I understand, correct. Then, Sir, the next point which Sir Harcourt Butler took was that there were not enough school buildings and there were not sufficient teachers. Well, Sir, I submit there is not much force in that argument. The real force in the argument is, whether you have got money or not. If you have money, you will get teachers; if you have money you will get school buildings. The real point is whether you have got money or not. Therefore, Sir, if I am right to this extent that your method, namely, the gradual extension of the principle of voluntary system, is not good, does not and will not produce the results desired, is too slow for the progress of the country, and if our method is right, namely, the system of compulsion in selected areas, then once you assume that we are right, we shall at once be faced with the second question, where is the money, and how are we to do it? I attach no importance, Sir, with very great respect to the argument of Sir Harcourt Butler that you cannot get teachers and school buildings: if you have money, I say you can get them, with really little or no difficulty, only you may have to wait a little; but I say it is not an insurmountable difficulty. Therefore, Sir, the next question I wish to answer is the question

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of finance. Now, Sir, this is a very very old story that you have no money, and all I can say is this, find money! Find money!! Find money!!! I appeal to the President—find money. I appeal to the President not as President, but as the Finance Minister. I say, find money. If you say you have not got enough money, discover and tap new sources of taxation. But, Sir, what is the provision of this Bill? Before I go into that wider question of finding money, what is the provision of this Bill? The provision, as far as I understand, is this. First of all you have to comply with what I would call the condition precedent, and the condition precedent is that unless in a particular area you have 33 per cent. or whatever figure may be hereafter fixed under the rules to be made by the Governor General in Council under this Bill—but I will take the figure of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, 33 per cent.—first of all, unless you have 33 per cent. of school-going age boys at school, no local body will be in a position to apply to extend or enforce the provisions of this Bill to that particular area. Now, Sir, as the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has pointed out, it will cost roughly about 3 crores of rupees to the Imperial Exchequer. The total cost will be  $4\frac{1}{2}$  crores, one-third to be paid by the local bodies, because it is only on that condition they can introduce the operation of this Bill into that particular area. On the other hand, the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler says it will be double. He has not given us his reasons for it or data, but has simply stated that it will be double. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has given his reasons and data for his figures, and therefore with very very great respect I must say that I prefer reasons to mere assertions, and I say that, until I am convinced to the contrary, which I am not, I will take the figure of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale—3 crores—to be correct. Now, Sir, I ask, is it such an insurmountable difficulty to get 3 crores of rupees from the Imperial Exchequer? Is it such a great, gigantic feat to be performed for a country like India with its 300 millions of people? I say, Sir, that there is nothing in that argument. I ask the Government; I say 'find the money; if necessary, tax the people.' But I shall be told that the people are already taxed; I shall be told that we shall be facing great unpopularity; and I shall be told, why should we do all this? My answer is that we should do all this to improve the masses of this country to whom you owe a much greater duty than to anybody else. My answer is that you must remove that reproach that is levelled justly against British rule, namely, the neglect of elementary education. My answer is that it is the duty of every civilized Government to educate masses, and if you have to face unpopularity, if you have to face a certain amount of danger, face it boldly in the name of duty; and I say it in this Council here without hesitation that you will have the whole educated public with you in the struggle on the battle field. Therefore, fear not; do not listen to the alarmist that you will make yourself unpopular if you advocate and fight the cause of elementary education.

"Now, the next point which I shall deal with in the speech of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler is this. He said that the Local Governments who have expressed their opinions and who are supposed to know the local conditions of the country have almost every one of them opposed this Bill. The Local Governments have given various reasons for opposing this measure. He only said that the Local Governments are opposed to this measure. He did not tell us which of the arguments, which of the objections of the Local Governments, he thought were sound arguments and objections of weight. But, Sir, I had an opportunity of going through this file as much as I possibly could. I find the Local Governments, as far as I can understand, have opposed this Bill, first, on the ground of political danger. This also includes a small non-official public who oppose this Bill. Secondly that the voluntary system of extending primary education is better; and thirdly, have hinted in some places of social danger; and fourthly, taxation and the cost. I have already dealt with the question of cost and I cannot say anything more. I am not in charge of the Finance portfolio and I am not on the Government Bench. Otherwise I should certainly occupy myself in finding ways and means of financing this measure. I have dealt with the cost; I have dealt with the issue which really is the issue, namely, whether the voluntary system is better or whether compulsion is better



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There are therefore only two other points, namely, the political danger and the social danger. Now, the social danger has not been advocated in this Council except by one or two members. My friend the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid has said that there will be strikes and there will be Socialists amongst us, and I think the Hon'ble Nawab Majid brought in the political danger that if you give education they will become agitators. Well, Sir, I honestly and sincerely appeal to the Government: do you really think that education means sedition? I say, Sir, that a frank and independent criticism of the Government or the measures of Government is the duty of every member of the State. But let me tell you that you have no better friends in this country—I mean the friends of the Government—than the educated classes of this country. But, if I may say so, we love the British Government, but we love our country more. We come forward and criticise the Government. We say “you are going wrong. It may be we are wrong; it does not follow because we say you are wrong therefore you are wrong.” But surely a fair, free and independent criticisms of the acts of Government, of the measures of Government, do not constitute sedition. Therefore, I say, Sir, can you argue, seriously that education means sedition? Do you mean that if you can get a boy who can read and write a little that he will become a political agitator? Can you seriously believe that? On the other hand, however, we know the blessings of education. We have learnt that from the British Government. They have been the first to open our eyes to it. They have brought us up to this level when we can stand in this Council and deliberate upon the affairs of our nation and of our country. I ask, Sir, where would the Hon'ble Nawab Majid be but for his education? I ask, Sir, where would the Hon'ble Muhammad Shafi be (he is not here I see) but for his education? Therefore, Sir, it cannot be denied as to the boon that education brings to the country. Then it is said ‘Oh! but the people will become too big for their boots’, if I may use that expression, that ‘they will not follow the occupation of their parents, they will demand more rights, there will be strikes, they will become Socialists.’ Well, Sir, are you going to keep millions and millions of people trodden under your feet for fear that they may demand more rights; are you going to keep them in ignorance and darkness for ever and for all ages to come because they may stand up against you and say that we have certain rights and you must give them to us? Is that the feeling of humanity? Is that the spirit of humanity? I say, Sir, that it is the duty of the zamindars and of the landlords to be a little less selfish. I say, Sir, that it is the duty of the educated classes to be a little less selfish. They must not monopolise the pedestals, but they must be prepared to meet their people. They must be prepared to be brought down from their pedestals if they do not do their duties properly. I say, Sir, that it is the elementary right of every man to say if he is wronged that he is wronged and that he should be righted. I say, Sir, there is nothing in that argument. It may be that in England and other countries in certain circles it has been urged that this elementary education has been a mistake. But by whom is this urged? Not by those who have benefited by it but by those who have been influenced by selfish reasons because they have suffered. It is this class which says that it has been a mistake to have introduced universal elementary education.

“Therefore, Sir, I say there is nothing so far as the social danger is concerned, I say there is nothing so far as the political danger is concerned. You will have greater friends, you will have more intelligent friends who will understand you better, and so your work will be all the more easy. You will have less unscrupulous people who are at present in a position to impose upon the ignorant and who are in a position to rile them against you when there is no cause, when there is no reason but for purposes of their own. Therefore I say, Sir, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying, that I am convinced that the method advocated by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is the best method in the interests of our country.

“There is one word more, Sir, before I finish. I do not think it is necessary to mention these things really, but one is forced into this lest one may be misunderstood. But for the present state of the Mussalman community and

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in some quarters in particular, I do not think it is necessary for any Musulman to say that he would not do anything either in this Council or outside this Council which is likely to prejudice the interest or the cause of his community. I, Sir, yield to none in that respect. If this Bill had been referred to the Select Committee as I wish it, if certain requirements were not embodied in this Bill by the Select Committee to safeguard the Musulmans, and if this Bill would have come before this Council without those requirements, which I think will be necessary in the interest of the Muhammadans in the present state of the condition of the people in this country, I would have been the first to oppose that Bill until and unless those requirements were incorporated in the Bill. But that is not the question, that is not the point, before the Council today. Therefore, I will only rest content by saying this that if this Bill were referred to the Select Committee, and if this Bill did not provide for certain requirements and modifications which I think are just in the interests of the Musulmans, I would certainly then be the first to oppose it. But the present state of this Bill is a motion to refer it to the Select Committee, and that motion I have no hesitation in supporting."

**The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:** "I beg to support the motion that the Elementary Education Bill be referred to a Select Committee. I will briefly explain my reasons for this view. In the first place, I must express the gratification with which the remarks of the Hon'ble Member for Education have been listened to by this Council. They will be read with much satisfaction throughout the country. We fully recognise that the Government have done a great deal in the past to promote education. In fact, the present public system of education is one of the greatest gifts which the Government has conferred upon the people, and the people feel deeply grateful for it. The fact that we ask for more does not in any way detract from our appreciation of what we have received. On the contrary, it is the greatest proof of such appreciation. We desire to secure to all our people what is at present enjoyed by only a few of them. And we regard a measure like the Bill before us essential to the attainment of this object. What has been said by previous speakers and particularly by the Hon'ble the Member for Education already disposed of many of the objections raised to the Bill, and therefore my task is an easy one. Briefly, those who oppose the Bill may be divided into three classes. There are first those who are opposed to universal education and therefore opposed to the Bill because it introduces the principle of compulsion which will lead to universal education. In this class I am sorry to find are some prominent members of the landed aristocracy, among them my friends the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid and the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis. They seemed to speak in blissful ignorance of the fact that the Government of India has long been committed to the principle of universal education. They have put forward rather late in the day objections of a social, political and miscellaneous character against the introduction of universal education. Several of these objections have been so well answered by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah that I will not go over the same ground. But, apart from the social objections and the political objections which he has disposed of, there are some miscellaneous objections which remain to be answered. One of these is that put forward by the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid in the name of the language difficulty. He said there are many languages current in this country, and he apprehended, speaking with special reference to the United Provinces, that if the Bill was passed into law an attempt might be made to injure the Urdu language and to compel Muhammadan students to study Hindi. Now, Sir, I will not take up the time of the Council by going into a historical dissertation as to respective ages and characters, the merits and demerits, of the Hindi and Urdu languages. I shall content myself with saying that so great a scholar as Sir William Hunter has said that Hindi stands at the head of all the vernaculars of India. For the rest my friend is entirely mistaken in entertaining the fears which he has expressed. For the last seventy years the Government of the United Provinces have been utilising both Hindi and Urdu in imparting education among the mass of the people, and if the



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Bill is passed there will be no change in that direction and no cause for offence or complaint given to any Muhammadan or non-Muhammadan.

"Then objections have been urged against the Bill on the ground of there being numerous castes and numerous creeds in this country. I submit, Sir, that the existence of numerous castes and creeds has not proved to be an insuperable obstacle in the way of extending education among the masses. The British Government have for the last seventy years been extending education among the masses, including the most backward classes, notwithstanding the existence of different creeds, notwithstanding the existence of numerous castes in the country. The lines which they have followed are sound lines, which need not be departed from in the slightest degree, but which will enable the Government if the Bill is passed into law to bring the blessings of education home to every caste and to every creed in the country.

"These are what I call miscellaneous objections, which do not affect the principle of the Bill. It is sufficient to say that, if the Bill ever comes to be examined in Select Committee, ample provision can be made to safeguard every possible interest which requires to be safeguarded.

"Then, in the second class of those who are opposed to the Bill come those who accept the principle of universal education but think that the principle of compulsion should not be introduced into the educational system of this country. They want education to be universal but they have a mortal fear of the principle of compulsion, because they urge that compulsion will mean an unnecessary interference with the liberties of the people.

"They forget that the principle of compulsion has necessarily to be introduced in some departments of every civilised administration. In the very first place, to establish and maintain order and to repress crime, a certain amount of compulsion—of restraint—has to be exercised on the wills and actions of individuals. In the second place, in a higher atmosphere in promoting social well-being also, compulsion does come into play. The Government introduced the system of vaccination many years ago. Under that system, whether they will it or not, people have to subject themselves to the provisions of the Vaccination Act. There are penal clauses in it, there are prosecutions under it, the Act is in force over vast areas in the country, and yet nobody has heard that the people have strongly resented it, much less that it has led to riots or disorder. The introduction of waterworks and drainage has not been brought about in many places, at least with the consent of the general public. They have had to submit to it for the general good, and have had to pay taxes, to undergo hardships, prosecutions, and so on. So also in the matter of other improvements. I submit that the principle of compulsion has to be introduced where it is clearly for the benefit of the people at large that it should be. If the great bulk of the community appreciate its introduction, the difficulties of the situation are lightened. If the bulk of the community have not been prepared to appreciate it, it only casts an additional duty upon us to educate them to do so, and that education can easily be given where the object is so patently good, as in this case, of securing this blessing of education to all classes and sections of the community. The theoretical objection to the principle of compulsion does not stand in the way of any real beneficial improvement being brought about, and ought not to stand in the way of the proposed humanitarian measure. Then, Sir, there is the third class of opponents to the Bill. This consists of those who are entirely and wholeheartedly for universal education, and who are also in favour of the principle of compulsion, but who think that the time is not yet for introducing that principle. In this third category are many Local Governments. The Bengal Government says that it sees no objection *per se* to the principle of compulsory elementary education, but urges that the conditions essential to its success have yet to be created. The Madras Government say: 'It is an axiom that the universal education of the masses is the goal to be aimed at, and all who have the interests of the country at heart are equally interested in bringing about this consummation,' but that His Excellency the Governor in Council cannot recommend the adoption of the Bill for sometime to come. Even the Government of the United Provinces, which I regret to note has put forward some very unreasonable and unjustifiable apprehensions regarding the effect of the

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measure if it is introduced, even that Government says that when a desire has been created in the majority of parents that their children should obtain some form of elementary education, 'compulsion may be adopted as a statesmanlike measure to bring laggards and malcontents within the fold.' So that, I submit, the majority of the Local Governments are not opposed to the principle of compulsion *per se*. They only argue that the time has not yet come when that principle should be introduced in India. But I need not take up the time of the Council by laying these opinions in detail before it. The statement made by the Honourable Member for Education makes the position quite clear. The Government of India are clearly not afraid of introducing the principle of compulsion in the matter of elementary education. The statement made by the Hon'ble Member, which will be read with great hope and satisfaction throughout the country, makes this very clear. 'We are all of us working for the same object,' said the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler. 'I should rejoice as much as they (Mr. Gokhale and those who support this motion) to see a condition of things in which elementary vernacular education could be compulsory and free in India. The Government of India are deeply concerned to bring about such a condition of things.' The statement is worthy of the Government of India. It is entirely in keeping with their numerous previous pronouncements on the subject of the education of the masses. It is also what we should have expected from a Government which is presided over by our present Viceroy. I may remind the Council here of the words which were uttered by His Excellency in replying to a deputation at Lahore. After reviewing the progress of education in the Punjab, His Excellency there said :—

'The past has had its triumph, the present may have its successes; but it is in the horizon of the future that our watchful eyes should be fixed, and it is for that reason that the future needs of the students and youth of this country will always receive from me sympathetic consideration and attention.'

'In another place His Excellency said :—

'But the goal is still far distant when every boy and girl and every young man and maiden shall have an education, in what is best calculated to qualify them for their own part in life and for the good of the community as a whole. This is an ideal we must all put before us.'

'Clearer language could not be used to indicate the high aim, the noble goal, which the Government of India have placed before themselves. But the question that awaits an answer is, how is that goal to be reached? Sir Harcourt Butler has shown that the Government have been steadily and systematically endeavouring to improve education and to extend it; that there has been real progress under the existing systems. We know it, and we feel deeply thankful for it. But he has also said at the same time that the progress has not been satisfactory. 'I grant you,' said the Hon'ble Member, 'that we are not satisfied—we are profoundly dissatisfied with the general rate of progress,' and Mr. Gokhale has shown that it would take 115 years, if we continue to proceed at the rate we are proceeding, for India to see every boy of school-going age at school, and 665 years to see every girl of school-going age at school. That period may be absolutely correct, or it may not be. But it cannot be denied that it would take a very very long time to see primary education universally diffused among the people if only the voluntary method which obtains at present is adhered to. Sir Harcourt Butler has said that the Government are advised by all their experts that the present rate of progress can be enormously accelerated by the provision of funds to finance schemes of advancement. No one can doubt this. He has also said that the Government hope to finance these schemes with liberal grants from Imperial revenues. This is matter for much satisfaction and thankfulness. But it may still be permissible to doubt whether the future of the elementary education of the masses can be placed on a secure basis, whether the supply of efficient funds needed to spread it among all classes of the people can be ensured without recourse to legislation, whether on the lines suggested or on different lines. In this connection it may perhaps be useful to remind the Council that the question of the universal extension of primary education has had the attention of the Government of India for many



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decades past. In 1882 Lord Ripon appointed an Education Commission, and the report of that Education Commission dealt largely with that question. The Commission reviewed the progress which had been made upon the basis of voluntary effort, and expressed themselves very much dissatisfied with it. They made several recommendations to ensure greater progress in the future. They reaffirmed the policy upon which the British Government had acted since 1871, and said 'We therefore express our conviction that while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore.' They felt satisfied that this object could not be gained without legislation. They, therefore, recommend that 'an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an extension of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each Province.' Now, Sir, it will be useful to quote to the Council the grounds of their decision. The Commission stated them as follows:

'Hitherto the State has mainly relied for the extension of education upon departmental effort or upon voluntary effort. But the former is obviously limited by financial considerations, and is therefore inadequate to the need, while it moreover tends to discourage local effort and self-reliance. The latter is necessarily partial and uncertain, and is least likely to be forthcoming where it is most wanted. What is now required seems to be some measure that will not only meet present necessities in each Province but be capable of expansion with future necessities. It is not thereby intended that any one large measure should regulate the details of education throughout all India. On the contrary, the recommendation cited is carefully guarded in its reference to the circumstances of each Province.'

"Then, after pointing out that there were Legislative Councils in only three Provinces at that time, and that therefore for each of the other Province some or more Acts would have to be passed by the Supreme Government, the Commission went on to say:

'In the case of all Provinces alike, it is right that the central authority, being most conversant with principles, should supply principles, while the local authorities should embody those principles in Acts suited to the circumstances of each Province. A declaration of general principles by the Supreme Council will be no bar to the exercise of free scope and discretion by local authorities in matters of detail; still less will one Province be bound by provisions primarily designed for another. In this way it is hoped that in course of time, by a process of gradual expansion on well-considered lines, each Province may be furnished with sufficient and efficient primary schools.'

"The Commission went on to discuss the question whether the object desired could not be attained by executive orders without legislation, and they pronounced themselves in favour of legislation as against executive action. The Commission said:

'On the equally important question whether executive orders would not ensure the desired end without legislation, it was argued that the history and statistics given in our report show that executive orders of clear import and general application issued from 1854 to the present time have failed more or less in all Provinces to ensure uniform attention to the broad principles prescribed for general guidance.'

"They went on also to point out that—

'in all countries where education has been most successful, that is, most national, it has been based on law or ordinance which has laid down the broad outlines of a general policy. Even in England, where there is so much jealousy of any central action that can be avoided, it was never advanced, in the prolonged discussions which resulted in the Acts passed between 1870 and 1880, that if a national and adequate system of primary education was at last to be established, it could be established otherwise than by legislation.'

"And the last argument which they urged was that—

'legislation is the only way in which all or any of the recommendations of the Commission, after approval by Government, can be made to live and last.'

"It is much to be regretted that the legislation recommended was not undertaken. It is true that in the Municipal Acts which have been passed in different Provinces since that time some provision has been made regarding education, but the measures recommended by the Commission were not adopted so far as legislation concerning the country as a whole was concerned, and the

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want of such legislation accounts in a large measure for the unsatisfactory progress of elementary education. The Council will be interested to hear what some of these recommendations were, as they afford a great deal of support to the Bill which is now before it. Among other recommendations the Education Commission urged that the duties of Municipal and Local Boards in controlling or assisting schools under their supervision should be regulated by local enactments suited to the circumstances of each Province. They recommended the creation of school districts, or rather the declaration that the area of any municipal or rural unit of local self-government may be declared to be a school district. They recommended the creation of school boards for the management and control of schools placed under their jurisdiction in each such district. They further recommended that every school board should be required to submit to the Local Government through the department an annual report of its administration together with its accounts of income and expenditure in such form and on such date as shall be prescribed by the Local Government. And this is most important part of the recommendation to which I would draw attention :

‘[And,] said the Commission, ‘the Local Government should declare whether the existing supply of schools of any class of which the supervision has been entrusted to such Board is sufficient to secure adequate proportionate provision for the education of all classes of the community, and in the event of the said Government declaring that the supply is insufficient, to determine from what sources and in what manner the necessary provision of schools shall be made.’

“The Commission made other necessary recommendations regarding the creation of a school fund in every school district, and the rights and duties of school boards. Can it be disputed that if their recommendations had been carried out, the history of the progress of primary education would have been written very differently to what it has been?

“Now, Sir, my Hon’ble friend Mr. Gokhale has already said that he is not particular that the Bill should be accepted in the particular form in which he has drafted it. He has appealed to the Hon’ble Member for Education—and I humbly join in that appeal—to bring in a measure which he and the Government consider to be suitable in the circumstances of the country to ensure a more satisfactory progress of primary education. I submit that, whether legislation may be partly Imperial and partly Provincial, legislation there should be in order to give reasonable uniformity to the action of the Education Department, and in order to provide that sufficient funds, both Imperial and Local, shall be regularly forthcoming to ensure that every part of the country should have a sufficient number of schools provided within a reasonable period of time. In the absence of such legislation, the progress of education will not be equable. No doubt Government is providing some funds at present, and these funds are being devoted to creating some schools. But what is the principle on which these schools are being created? It is a principle which exposes the Government in a greater degree to a charge, which has been brought against the Bill before us, of involving injustice to areas where schools are not created. This must happen when you arbitrarily create schools in certain localities and let other localities go without any school. But if you will create school districts and school boards and lay down a definite principle that Imperial funds should be distributed in some proportion to the amount which may be raised by the people of each district, which will of course include all local funds raised in the district, you will take away all just cause of complaint, and ensure that in every school district there will be some provision made for the education of the children within the district. This can only be done by legislation, and, if it is, more funds will necessarily be found for education, whether the funds be partly contributed by the District Boards or Municipal Boards, and partly by the Provincial Government and partly by the Imperial Government. It may be said, Sir, that even conceding that it is desirable to introduce some legislation on the lines indicated by the Education Commission, there is no need yet for introducing the principle of compelling parents or guardians to send their boys to school, because boys of school-going age are rushing to school without any such compulsion. Assuming that it is so, this argument overlooks a very important point. The question is whether it is



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the duty of the Government to see that every child of school-going age shall receive the benefit of education, or whether it is not. I submit, Sir, that it is in the interests of the community and of the State that every child, both boy and girl, should receive education; and if that object is to be secured, it will not do to leave it to the option of parents or guardians to send their boys to school or not as they may like. In the case of girls there should of course be no compulsion for the present. But if you proceed on the voluntary system in the case of boys also, education will never become universal. A certain number will, no doubt, receive education; but a large number will not. Every civilized country has found that compulsion is the only means by which universal education can be secured. No country has succeeded without it, and we cannot expect to succeed without it. The case for compulsion has been admirably summarised in a paragraph which occurs in the very able minute of Mr. Maynard, the Officiating Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, which I take the liberty of quoting here. Says Mr. Maynard:

‘But the true justification for the adoption of compulsion lies in the assumption that elementary instruction ought not merely to be vigorously extended, but, ultimately, to be made universal, and that this is impossible without compulsion. That there will always be a proportion of parents, weak or apathetic or short-sighted or greedy, who will neglect their duty, except under pressure, is implied in the legislation of all Western countries. This country is full of conservative elements, non-official as well as official, which will decline to accept the theory that elementary instruction ought ultimately to become universal; but responsible opinion appears to be committed to that conclusion, and considering what is being done elsewhere in the world, we do not see what else is possible without the gravest economic and other risks. We stand then, ultimately, committed to the necessity of compulsion, and the present is a proposal for the cautious and tentative introduction of the new principle in specially favourable localities, in order to feel the way towards a further plunge, when the right time comes for it.’

“I submit, Sir, that the case for compulsion – for the principle of the Bill – could not be better or more tersely put than it has been put in that one paragraph. If then compulsion shall have to be our ultimate resort, the question is, whether we should wait and wait until we think the time is come to introduce it all at once all over the country, or whether we should make a beginning now with the measure which has been proposed and introduce it tentatively in select areas. As has been observed by the Hon’ble Sir Harcourt Butler, the Bill is a modest measure. It is full of safeguards, which are regarded by some people as too many. But it is undeniable that it is a very cautious measure. If it is passed, it will only enable and not compel a Municipal or a District Board, with the previous sanction of the Local Government and subject to such rules as the Governor General in Council may make in this behalf, to declare that the Act shall apply to the whole or any specified part of the area within the local limits of its authority, and thereby to render it obligatory upon parents or guardians residing within that area to send their boys, and in certain circumstances and in certain areas their girls also, to school provided that a recognised school is in existence within a mile of the home of the boy or the girl. It is important to note the safeguards which the Bill provides against hasty or ill-considered action. The ultimate declaration which will determine the extension of the Act to any area can only be made with the previous sanction of the Local Government. That Government will not be bound to sanction such a declaration; and it may reasonably be presumed that it will refuse to do so when and where any class or community or a large section of it is opposed to it. All the fears and apprehensions which have been expressed by some Hon’ble Members who have preceded me, that the principle of compulsion might be introduced in any area against the wishes of the community or the people, fall to the ground when it is remembered that the Local Government alone will have the power to sanction whether the Act shall or shall not be applied in any area. In addition to this, power has also been specially reserved to the Local Government to exempt particular classes or communities from the operation of the Act. Secondly, the Local Government cannot take action of its own motion; it can sanction the extension of the Act to any area only at the instance of the

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Municipal or the District Board of the locality. This is to ensure that the Act shall not be applied to any area where the majority of the people are opposed to it. Further provision can be made in the Bill to ensure this result. A further safeguard has been provided to ensure that the measure shall be extended to such areas only where it is likely to be acceptable to the bulk of the people in the rule requiring that the percentage of children already attending school within the area must be as high as the Government of India may by rule have prescribed before an application from any Municipality or a District Board to sanction the extension of the Act to the area will be entertained by the Local Government. Lastly, there is the important condition that the obligation on parents to send their children to school will be brought into force only where there should be a recognised school within a mile of the home of the boy or the girl. If the Government is not in a position to provide funds, if the Municipal or District Board is not in a position to establish a school, the Bill does not come into operation. It is only when the Government will be satisfied that the Government and the local bodies acting together can provide the means to establish schools within an area, that they will have to judge whether the other conditions are such that the Act should be applied to that area. A more modest measure it is difficult to conceive. The most important advantage of it will be, if it is passed now, that the great effort which the Government has to make, namely, to make elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country, an effort which it is committed to make by its own noble declarations of making education universal among the people, will be made after valuable experience which will be gained by some years of work under this tentative measure. I submit, Sir, for these reasons, that the Bill ought to be allowed to go to a Select Committee, when its provisions can be further considered and improved.

"The real objections to the Bill, so far as I can see, are based on financial grounds. I venture to say, Sir, that it is clear from the statement made by the Hon'ble Member for Education that if the financial difficulty did not stand in the way the Government would not be so unwilling to consider the advisability of introducing the principle of compulsion in the form proposed by the Bill. And I wish to submit a few remarks on this aspect of the question. The first duty of every civilised Government no doubt is the maintenance of order and the suppression of crime, but next in importance to that duty and, I venture to say, of equal importance with it, is the duty of combating ignorance with its evil concomitants of poverty, misery and crime. That duty rests upon the Government, and they ought to find the money to discharge this duty with the same unhesitating determination with which they find money to maintain order and to repress crime. Sir, the ignorance of our people exposes them to any amount of suffering which can be prevented; millions of them die deaths which ought to be preventible, and live lives which ought to be less miserable and unhappy than they are. They are exposed in the numerous transactions of their daily lives to extortion and to many other disadvantages which they would easily avoid if a little light of knowledge were extended to them. They have the great advantage of being placed under one of the most civilised of Governments under the sun. That Government is conducted on the most humane, the most enlightened principles in many matters. It has been labouring to promote the good of the people by introducing a system of co-operative credit societies and banks, and District Agricultural banks and numerous other measures to alleviate the condition of the people, but by reason of being steeped in ignorance the people are not able to take sufficient advantage of those measures. Education is the one thing needed to make it possible for the efforts of Government to bear good fruit. It is needed to alleviate the sufferings of the people, and to elevate them. Sufficient and suitable provision for bringing the light of education to the masses is clearly, therefore, the paramount duty of Government, and no amount of expenditure ought to be grudged which may be necessary for the purpose. Since the Education Commission submitted their report in 1883, the revenues of Government have largely increased; Government expenditure also has very largely increased. I believe that in the Military and Civil



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Departments, the expenditure has increased by over 20 crores. Mr. Gokhale has shown that the total cost of providing for the education of all boys of the school-going age and of girls in a fair measure will be 4½ crores a year. The Hon'ble Member for Education says that it will be double that amount. Even taking the higher figure mentioned by Sir H. Butler, assuming that ten crores a year will be necessary eventually to bring the benefit of elementary education to all classes and conditions of the people, I submit that that is not too large a sum for the Government of India to find. That sum will not have to be found in one year; it may be found in five years; it may be found in ten years. If savings from retrenchment and the surpluses from the normal growth of revenues will not be sufficient to meet the requirements, let us have recourse to extra taxation. We are prepared to support extra taxation for that purpose. An addition of two per cent. to the customs duty, will, as stated by my Hon'ble friend, will bring us the necessary amount. Then there is the jute trade; it can easily bear an export duty of five per cent. We can also with advantage put a higher duty on foreign sugar which is being imported in such enormous quantities into this country. And lastly, though it is painful to suggest that the salt duty should be raised, yet if it becomes necessary, we should be prepared to support an increase in the salt duty rather than allow the present state of things to continue in which nearly 94 per cent. of our people, subjects of the most enlightened Government, are kept from the benefits of elementary education, and exposed to the innumerable evils of ignorance. I strongly support the motion that the Bill should be allowed to go to a Select Committee."

**The Hon'ble Raja of Dighapatia:** "Sir, now that Mr. Gokhale has adopted the principle of absolutely free education, I have no hesitation to give his Bill my unstinted support. Compulsion by itself would no doubt be a matter of great hardship to many and would therefore be looked upon with some amount of disfavour; but when it goes hand in hand with free education, it is sure to do good to the people as it has done in most of the other civilised countries.

"It has been suggested that with the spread of education the poor and simple agriculturists of the present day will imbibe all the luxuries of living and consider it derogatory either to work in the field or to do any other manual labour. Such a state of things is only possible when a few men are given education; but when the whole population is educated, such absurd prejudices are sure to disappear. Moreover, the people in general would be better able to take care of their health and property, and would do their best to improve the sanitary conditions of the localities they live in. They would be quite capable of protecting their own interests also against the unscrupulous men who now trade on their ignorance and lead them into all sorts of quarrels and litigations.

"We are grateful to the Government for what it has already done and what it is now going to do for the spread of voluntary education. But at the same time we cannot but feel disappointed that the Government does not think the time has come for introducing free and compulsory education in this country.

"Turning to the question of ways and means, I would have no doubt liked the funds for this purpose to come out of the Imperial Treasury; but as that is not possible, I for one would not mind if any new tax has to be imposed for so noble an object, provided it falls fairly and equitably on those who are least taxed in this country, and the bulk of the money necessary come from the Government treasury out of its ordinary revenues. Sir, with regard to the land-owning classes, they never show their selfishness where spending money in the cause of education comes in, as almost all the big landlords of Bengal and other Provinces have got to support their own schools, sometimes even half a dozen, and in some cases landlords have got colleges to support also. So, I believe, it would not be right for anybody to say that the landlords would be selfish in the matter."

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**The Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri:** "Sir, I have heard with great relief the speech of my Hon'ble friend the Raja of Dighapatia, especially after hearing two other representatives of the landholding classes in this Council, I mean my friends the Hon'ble Malik Sahib and the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid.

"The Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid, who I am sorry is not in his seat now, in his speech yesterday had advanced an argument that free and compulsory education was not desirable at the present moment as it was sure to reach the tenants and agriculturists, who after being educated would be discontented with their present position and would demand better wages and better treatment from their zamindars, and this according to him would not be desirable. The Hon'ble Malik Sahib also advanced this view. I had thought, Sir, that if ever any such selfish thought, contrary to all morals as it is, had entered anybody's mind, he, for his own sake and for the sake of decency, would not give vent to it in public, especially in a responsible and august body like this Council. I confess, Sir, that I for one heard, with a sense of shame and humiliation, these views from the lips of those who themselves . . . . ."

**The Hon'ble Malik Umar Hyat Khan:** "Should such words be used as personal remarks on members?"

**The President:** "I did not gather that the remarks of the Hon'ble Member applied to any particular individual. He referred to a particular policy."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri:** "Well, Sir, I repeat it was a great relief to me to listen to the speech of at least one landholder who stood up to say that he wanted to have free and compulsory education for his tenants.

"Lest the Council may have a wrong impression of zamindars as a class, I will mention that there are zamindars who not only like their tenants to be educated but are even ready to pay for such education. I refer to the case of the zamindars of Sind, whom I have the honour to represent in this Council. The Sind zamindars have asked Government to levy a small cess on themselves and to spend the proceeds of such a cess not only on the education of their children but also on the children of their tenants. I, as their representative in the Bombay Legislative Council, introduced such a Bill only the other day.

"In connection with my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale's Bill I may also mention that we in Sind have been asking Government to make a beginning in the direction of compulsory education in our Province since 1907, and it was in that year that a friend of mine, Mr. Weblavi, moved a resolution to that effect before the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference held at Karachi.

"But, Sir, though I see that the Bill will be thrown out to-day, it has been made clear to us that an overwhelming majority of our countrymen is with us. Though defeat may be ours to-day, we are not going to be deterred by the defeat, and with an overwhelming majority of the country behind us, we will, I hope ere long, reach our goal of free and compulsory education for the country. With these remarks, Sir, I give my humble but strong support to the Bill before the Council."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Sinha:** "I rise to give my unqualified support to the motion that the Bill be referred to the Select Committee. I do not think, Sir, that I shall be justified in taking up the time of the Council. I shall simply say that, after the lengthy debate we have had, it appears that the country demands this measure and trust that Government will see their way to accept this motion."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp:** "Sir, so much has been said about this Bill in the debate yesterday and to-day that it remains for me to say very little, although it will be necessary for me to comment on a few figures that have been put before the Council. But I think it is only right that I should deal very briefly with the Bill from a purely professional point of view. Now, my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale paid a compliment to the Department of



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Education ; and I hope that he will permit me now to return the compliment to him for the great interest which he has shown in the cause of education. But I also hope that he will not think me ungrateful if I say that in some respects the principles of this Bill as set forth in his exposition have caused me a little disappointment. The principle of this Bill, as we have heard, is the wide expansion of elementary education. But we have heard very little about the kind of education and about the improvement of education. From what the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale said on the 2nd of September last and from what we heard him say yesterday, I cannot help thinking that too little thought has been given to the facilities which are to be provided for education. I mean such things as inspection, the training of teachers, houses, equipment, and so forth. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has waived these things aside. But they are very insistent.

"Now, let us take training. Even under the present circumstances, with our present number of schools, we are not able to do nearly all that we ought to do or should like to be able to do in the way of training of teachers. I hazard the guess that we probably have in the country about 150,000 elementary teachers; and if we have not so many, all I can say is that we ought to have. Now, if we take five per cent. wastage, on this, we find that we have to supply about 7,500 new teachers a year; but our returns show that we are able to turn out from our training institutions, such as our *Guru* training schools, only about 4,500 a year or a little over that; and this includes teachers for secondary as well as teachers for elementary schools. It seems then that we are not even able to supply the present demand. Now, what will happen if there comes a very sudden expansion without due provision for staffing with trained teachers?

"Then again there is the question of houses. I am not ambitious in this matter. I daresay we shall have to hire houses in the first instance in places where rapid expansion comes about. Yesterday the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale commended to us the example of Japan, and he invited us to condescend to the use of verandahs. I am sorry to have to confess that the invitation is not necessary. I have seen many village schools held in verandahs; and the configuration of the verandah of a village house is such that of the twenty-five or thirty boys who are attending the school about four or five boys are in a position to derive benefit from the instructions of the teacher.

"Then again my friend the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu has told us of the nice buildings of bamboo and grass which can be erected in Bengal villages. Well, I know those nice little buildings. When the sun shines, it shines through the wall and shines on your book and perhaps through the roof on to your head. And when the rain rains, it also beats through the walls and probably you find yourself sitting in a puddle. I quite agree that grass and bamboo are very excellent materials, and I do not hanker after *pukka* palaces erected by the Public Works. But even the most modest buildings are not cheap. I have seen hundreds of these buildings erected in Bengal districts, and though I never employed the Public Works on them, and though I always tried to get the people to build their own schools if possible, and though the people were interested in the matter and often gave Rs. 100 or Rs. 150 towards the building, nevertheless decent houses of bamboo and grass which shall give reasonable shelter are found to cost some Rs. 500 or Rs. 600 at least; and the necessary recurring expenditure on repairs with such materials is not light. Moreover, suppose we were to try these bamboo and grass buildings in parts of India where we have not the genial climate of Bengal, suppose for instance we tried them in the north-west parts of India, what would happen then?

"Now, there are other reasons why the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's estimate of 4½ crores for the education of 8½ million boys is drawn too low. The lower the strata of the population that we tap for purposes of education, the more costly will that education become. We shall have to pay for the enforcement of attendance, if the system is to be effective; we shall have to pay for the free supply of books; we may have to pay for free meals. Then again there is the question of the girls, who cost more to educate than boys. I do not want to criticise Mr. Gokhale because he has cut down his bill. I quite understand

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and I quite appreciate the reasons which have led him to cut it down. Only I think that those reasons are far outweighed by what I may call professional considerations. Expense is not so deterrent if we are sure that we are going to get good value for it. I say these things not in a spirit of criticism, but because I feel we must approach the question from a different point of view, and that while expending we cannot possibly afford to neglect efficiency.

"Now, we have been told that other countries have begun in this way. It is very necessary, when we talk about other countries, to be careful how we quote their reports and their statistics. I myself have a very great horror of these analogies whether transmarine or otherwise. An instance in point. Two years ago in this Council Mr. Gokhale told us that only about 43 per cent. of the children were in attendance at schools in England in 1870. I am not sure whether that point has come up again since; but I think it is necessary for me to say a word or two about it. He took his figures from a little book by Sir Henry Craik from a passage in which Sir Henry Craik says that in 1870-71, out of 22 millions of inhabitants in England and Wales, there were only 1,300,000 in regular attendance at schools. But if we look at an earlier passage of that book, we shall find that twelve years before that, namely, in 1858, out of the then total population of 19½ millions, over 2½ million children were at school. Whence this discrepancy? It arises partly from the fact that the one figure has reference to attendance and the other figure to enrolment. But—and this is a still more important point—Sir Henry Craik has chosen to ignore the great mass of private schools which then existed in England and supports that position by quoting certain lurid passages from the report of the Newcastle Commission. Now, if we look up the Newcastle Commission's report in original and study the passages in which these lurid spots appear, we shall find that they begin to assume a slightly different aspect. We shall find, for instance, that the Assistant Commissioners who inspected these schools found that in some of the private institutions, the rate of fees charged was so high (if I understand the passage aright—it is not altogether clear) that they did not feel justified in including them in their inquiry at all, because their inquiry was supposed to be directed to the facilities for educating the 'independent poor,' as the bulk of the population of England were rather quaintly called in that report. Now, if people were willing to pay large fees in the private schools when they could get their children educated in the public schools at anything from a penny to threepence a week, there must have been something in these schools to attract them. We are told that some parents preferred them—not always for good reasons. And we are also told that these schools were of different kinds—good, bad and indifferent, just as were the public schools themselves. Well, even though the bulk of these schools appear to have been bad, we cannot in fairness disregard all these children; and if we include them we find that actually 13 per cent. of the total population of England and Wales was at school 12 years before the introduction of the Elementary Education Bill. And, if we accept the formula of the Commission as to the number of children of a school-going age, we find that 95 per cent. of the possible children were at school. And this calculation appears to ignore the children of the more well-to-do classes. Then again let us glance at the order of procedure in England with reference to education. The administrative orders and the attempts at legislation from 1840 to 1870 were all in the direction of efficiency—inspection, the training of teachers, etc. The legislation of 1870, 1876 and 1880 gradually brought in the idea of compulsion, and in 1891 came the natural corollary of freedom. But if we carefully look at the Bill of 1870 and carefully study its results, I think we shall see that still more important than the attempt to bring more children to school was the substitution of a privately supported system of inefficient education for a national system of efficient education.

"I am afraid myself that four years' of instruction would be very little good to anybody. Four years' instruction *sans* inspection, *sans* teachers, *sans* houses, *sans* equipment and *sans* everything would, I cannot help thinking, be money thrown away. Certainly I do not think that that will give us the kind of education that will brighten homes or sweeten labour. I do not want to be



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at all unkind to the Bill in this matter; but when thinking of it, I cannot help being reminded of Lord Sherbrooke's cynical remark—I think with reference to the revised Code of England in 1861—'If the new system is costly, it shall at least be efficient; if it is inefficient, it shall be cheap.' I am afraid that education on the lines indicated here, though the Bill will still be very large, will be both inefficient and cheap. And I think that we ought to seek some other way.

"But the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has already given us two answers to these arguments. In the first place, he has reminded us that even if we put down schools, boys sometimes won't attend. This is a very sad thing and very important. What is the reason why parents sometimes will not send their children to school? I fear the reason is one which the rapid extension of elementary education, without its improvement, would, far from eradicating, tend rather to render permanent. If we are justly to consider this Bill, we must go out beyond the walls of this chamber, we must leave for a moment our blue books, and forget our speeches. We must look at the villager and the village school. We must consider the ways of the village and the frame of mind of the *raiyat*. The ways of the village have at least the sanction of centuries and are not devoid of excellencies. We cannot hustle those ways. The *raiyat* is no fool, he is not going to leave his old ways, and he is not going to forego his son's help in the fields for education in a school which he feels will do his son no good.' The Hon'ble the Member for Education yesterday told us the facts about this matter. I can only emphasise them by saying that I have seen thousands of elementary schools; and over and over again I have seen that, if a school fails, the way to resuscitate it is to send a good teacher there. But I am afraid that, if we are not careful, we shall not have any good teachers. The teachers will simply become worse and worse.

"Secondly, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale very naturally wishes that a beginning should be made. Yesterday he said that we must abolish illiteracy straight away. I may be altogether wrong, but I was under the impression that this Bill was a very modest measure, that its operation was to be slow, tentative and gradual. I may have been misled, but if I was, I can only say that at least one supporter of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale yesterday was also misled. And from the way in which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale introduced this remark, I fear that it was intended as an excuse for the initial inefficiency of the education that was to be given, and that it was made in the genuine hope that that education was going to become more efficient in the course of time. But the effect of the procedure suggested in the Bill will be to lay the finances of this country on a veritable bed of Procrustes—a condition of things which no responsible Government can tolerate, and which I think not even the wildest enthusiast for education can applaud. We want money, and we hope and trust that we shall get money; but, having got it, we do not want to see its distribution trammelled by iron and mechanical rules. Our distribution must follow the dictates of reason. Surely this is the real moral of some of the remarks of the Hon'ble Mr. Haque this morning. Now, let us look at it both ways. Suppose this Bill were to become law, and suppose it were to take rapid effect. All our efforts for improvement, I am afraid, will be shelved for years to come; and not only so, but what would happen to our technical education? What would happen to our higher education, regarding the concomitant claims of which we heard wise remarks from the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University on Saturday last? And to turn to other things, what is going to happen to improvements in agriculture, communications, sanitation, and so forth? If on the other hand the Bill takes slow effect, then we shall have effective compulsion in the more favoured and advanced areas; and then we are sure to have a demand for improvement in these areas; and we shall have to meet that demand for improvement; and meanwhile how are we going to find the money for expansion in the vast tracts which will help to pay the bill and where a single school has now to serve many square miles? Whichever way we look at it, I cannot find the prospect alluring. It is money, more money, and money reasonably and equitably distributed that we want. It is the want of this that checks us, and not the absence of a compulsory Act. Can we get unlimited

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funds from a cess? The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu does not fear an education cess. I admire his courage. He does not fear it in Bengal. But what about the poorer parts of India? What about the parts which are under temporary settlement or raiyatwari holdings?

"After all we come back to bed-rock. We are told that our progress is slow. Now a word of encouragement. Our progress is not so slow as the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has told us. I am not going to question his figures; I am not going to question their correctness. I think he has taken his figures on slightly different data from those on which I base the figures which I will now give to the Council. If I remember aright—I hope he will correct me if I am wrong—I think he yesterday said that the average annual increase in the number of boys at school for the last 10 years has been 75,000 in the case of boys and 17,000 in the case of girls. It is a pleasure to me to tell him that the average annual increase during the past four years has been nearly 240,000."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale:** "May I interrupt the Hon'ble Member. I should like to know what does 240,000 represent? That would mean in ten years a total increase of 24 lakhs. But at the beginning of the decade you had 32 lakhs of boys at school and at the end you have 40 lakhs or an increase of 8 lakhs only."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp:** "I was speaking of the past five years or so, and of the average annual increase."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale:** "I have taken ten years."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp:** "But I am taking only five years, in order to show that our rate is rapidly increasing. That is all. It was not my intention to question Mr. Gokhale's figures; but it was my intention to substitute more optimistic figures for those which we heard yesterday and which might have depressed the Council. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale said that the percentage of our population at school was 1·9. Now, if we consider all schools—and I think it is only fair that we should consider our secondary schools as well, since they impart a great deal of elementary education—we find that 2·5 per cent. of the total population is at school. When I say 2·5 per cent. I mean to include all parts of British India, from the most advanced parts like Broach to the most backward parts like the jungles of the Central Provinces or the beel tracts of Eastern Bengal. Furthermore, we always have to consider in India the great difficulty of the sexes. Suppose for a moment we eliminate the girls. Of our male population, 4·2 per cent. are now at school. Now, that is a figure that brings us within measurable distance of the Philippines, of Baroda and of other shining examples. And as regards calculations as to the period it would take to bring all children under education, we must remember the figures that I have just given, and we must likewise not ignore the progressive ratio, the fact that education breeds education."

"The Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, however, has thrown doubt upon some of the figures stated yesterday. I do not know whether my Hon'ble friend opposite is going to say anything about that; but if he is we shall have no right of reply. I therefore take this opportunity of saying that the figures have been checked and have been found absolutely correct."

"Again, I remember that two years ago the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale complained that the increase in the amount of public funds spent in British India upon elementary education had amounted only to 57 lakhs. That was in the last 25 years, I think. Now, in the past four years the increase is equal to nearly one-half the total amount of increase in the last quarter of a century."

"I trust that these figures and the sympathetic treatment the Bill has received from this Department will assure the Hon'ble Member, if any such assurance is at all needed, that he is not a voice crying in the wilderness. The Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, if I heard him aright today, asked 'Do you seriously say that education will breed sedition?' Who said that? What did the Hon'ble the Member for Education say last year? I quote from memory—'Ignorance is our greatest enemy; and we pray for light to expose and shatter this insidious foe.' *We* are not keeping the people back; *we* are not keeping them in ignorance and darkness; *we* desire intelligent friends. It is the social system



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of India which keeps people in ignorance and darkness ; and it is British rule which has given them light and some knowledge. I was very glad to hear my friend, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, say to-day that the people were grateful for it. For sixty years the Government of this country has been preaching this doctrine of mass education—the aim to which freedom and compulsion alike are only a means. For sixty years it has backed up its preaching by practical efforts, as we heard again this morning, and by such sums as it could afford—not by such sums as my Hon'ble friend opposite would desire, nor such sums as we all could desire, but such as were reasonable from time to time. And for sixty years the Government of this country has evoked very little response—until quite recently. I think that everybody in this Council must have been profoundly struck with the extraordinary revulsion of feeling which has occurred in the last few years among the educated classes in this country in regard to mass education. Towards that revulsion of feeling Mr. Gokhale's propagandism has substantially contributed. He has brought round many of his fellow-countrymen, men of his own class and of his own mode of thought, to the views of Government in this matter. There is still, however, much difference of opinion among them. The opinions received show that, as well as the discussions here. It seems that there is still some doubt as to the views of the All-India Moslem League. And apparently the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale considers a vote for the Bill without the unpleasant provision of local taxation as a vote in favour of it. However this may be, if he has gone beyond the views of Government, if he has gone beyond the views of a good many of his countrymen in this matter, it is only necessary to say that propagandism in order to be effective must frequently be advanced."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale :** "Sir, it only remains for me now to reply to the speeches which have been made in opposition to the motion that I have submitted to the Council. I will first say a few words about my friends, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis and Nawab Abdul Majid. I really do not complain of the views which these two friends have expressed. Frankly, they do not believe in mass education, and in that they are not singular. There are men belonging to their class in other countries—in Western countries—who also have the same distrust of mass education. If my friends had the courage of their convictions, if they were prepared to push their views to their logical conclusion, they would propose the abolition of mass education. But they will not do that, for they are discreet in their generation. But, Sir, I would like to know one thing from the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, if he will be so good as to enlighten us on that point. The two local bodies of which my friend is President, namely, the Nagpur Municipality and the Nagpur District Board, have both supported this Bill. Now, was he or was he not present at the meetings of these bodies when the Bill came up for consideration? And, if he was, did he protest against the resolutions? And, if not, is the difference in his attitude due to the difference between the popular atmosphere of those meetings and the predominantly official atmosphere that we have in this Council?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis :** "I was present at the two meetings of the Municipal Committee and of the District Council, but the way in which those resolutions were made and the safeguards with which they have been hedged round will show how enthusiastically people received this measure. And I told them—"

**The President :** "I cannot allow the Hon'ble Member to make a speech. He must sit down and let the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale continue his remarks without interruption."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale :** "Well, that suffices for my point. The Hon'ble Member was present and the resolutions were in favour of the principle of the Bill. You may put it any way you like, but the resolutions did favour the principle of my Bill. And the motion before the Council asks for nothing more. All it says is, approve the principle of the Bill and send it to a Select Committee in order that its provisions may be carefully examined. If

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the Hon'ble Member did not protest against those resolutions, if he allowed those resolutions in favour of the Bill to be passed there without his protest, I cannot understand how he can now oppose this motion that the Bill should go to a Select Committee. My Hon'ble friend the Malik Sahib has opposed the motion so gently that I shall show my gratitude by not controverting his views. My Hon'ble friend the Maharaja of Burdwan has also expressed himself in such a guarded way that I prefer to look upon his speech as more in favour of the motion than against it. He is in any case not going to vote against the motion ; therefore, I will not say anything more as regards his attitude. I now come to the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy. I must say that my friend's position is absolutely incomprehensible to me. The other day I congratulated my friend on his conversion to official views in the matter of our complaint that the grant to irrigation was not always fully expended. The official plea has always been that, owing to scarcity of labour, the money allotted cannot always be spent. I congratulated my friend on his conversion to official views in that matter, because the complaint which was made on this subject the other day by the Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar, and in which Mr. Dadabhoy could not agree, was precisely the complaint which my friend had himself been making in years past. Today I will go a little further and congratulate my friend not only on his conversion to official views but on his conversion to the very manner of expressing those views."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :** " Will you allow me a personal explanation ?"

**The President :** " I think the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is entitled to continue his speech without constant interruptions. Every member belonging to the Indian portion of the Council has made a speech, and I think the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is entitled, except for very strong reasons, to proceed without interruption."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale :** " Official members, when they oppose a non-official motion, first express plenty of sympathy with an object. Sometimes the sympathy is really most valuable ; sometimes it is only intended to soothe our susceptibilities. But in any case sympathy is generally expressed before a motion is resisted. My Hon'ble friend has also begun to give us sympathy while opposing our resolutions. But, Sir, official sympathy has a practical value because it often means increased grants. I do not know, however, what we can do with the sympathy which the Hon'ble Member offers us. In fact, Sir, I must say that it is a source of no small embarrassment to us, because official opponents can point to that sympathy and say, ' Here is a member who is in sympathy with you, and yet who deems it his duty to oppose your motion.' The less, therefore, that we have of such expressions of sympathy from my Hon'ble friend in future, the better, for we certainly should prefer his opposition pure and simple. Sir, two years ago I moved in this Council a Resolution on the subject of free and compulsory education. That Resolution recommended that a *beginning* should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory. There was no ambiguity about the terms. I definitely suggested that a *beginning* should be made. The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy then made a speech in support, the very first sentence of which was, ' My Lord, I cordially support this Resolution.' He cordially supported my Resolution recommending that a *beginning* should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory. And we argued strongly about the necessity of introducing compulsion. The Hon'ble Member said : ' And if the propriety of the Government action in fixing the age at which children can begin manual work in the interests of the physical development of the nation be admitted, equally, if not even more, proper will the Government policy be in compelling children to attend school up to a certain age in the higher interests of their mental and moral development. It is a balancing of advantages and disadvantages, and the advantage would appear to be in favour of compulsory education.'

" Then again, Sir, last year, when I introduced the present Bill, what was it that the Hon'ble Member said ?" (Mr. Dadabhoy : " Hear, hear.") Mr. Gokhale :



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"You may cheer now, but you won't cheer at the end. My Hon'ble friend thus referred to the Bill which is now before the Council, the Bill which I propose should now go to a Select Committee: '*Primā facie*,' he said, 'the Bill deserves support. A close examination of the provisions (not merely a superficial glance at them but a close examination such as my friend always bestows on every subject) will show that the general principle of the Bill is sound.' He thus said that a close examination of the Bill had convinced him at that time that the general principle of the Bill was sound. Sir, today we are only considering, as my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque has already pointed out, the general principle of the Bill. The place for considering the details is the Select Committee. Those who are in favour of the general principle of the Bill are, in my opinion, bound to support this motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee. If my friend is in favour of the general principle of the Bill I cannot understand how he opposes the motion."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :** "Forgive me, Sir, but in fairness to myself I must request you to permit me to tender a personal explanation."

**The President :** "Are you rising to a point of order?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :** "No Sir. I want to explain my position."

**The President :** "Order, order. The Hon'ble Member had ample opportunity to explain his position at the time when he was speaking. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is now fully entitled to proceed with his speech without interruption."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale :** "Sir, I must also point out that I am confining myself to quotations entirely. The Council is in a position to judge if I am properly representing or not the Hon'ble Member. I am quoting his words exactly as they are in these proceedings. Sir, more than that, since the Hon'ble Member himself made an indirect reference to the subject yesterday, I may mention that only ten days ago my Hon'ble friend had assured me that he would not only support my motion, but would strongly support it. He is of course entitled to change his views, but a man who has been as long as my friend has been in public life and who had examined the provisions of my Bill carefully last year and had expressed the views he did last year and the year before is certainly expected to show some consistency."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :** "Will you allow me, Sir——"

**The President :** "The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is fully entitled to make these remarks. He is making quotations from books to which we all have access, and I must request the Hon'ble Member to allow him to proceed without interruption."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale :** "May I point out to the Hon'ble Member that there is always a disadvantage attaching to a person speaking before another. If the Hon'ble Member gets an opportunity of speaking after me, he will be entitled to say whatever he chooses, without being interrupted by me. He, moreover, can explain himself in the columns of the Press, if he likes."

"Well I will now pass on from Mr. Dadabhoy and say a few words with reference to the remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi. A large part of the Hon'ble Member's speech was devoted to a condemnation of the principle of compulsion, and, after the manner in which the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Education Department practically accepted the desirability of compulsion, I do not think I need say much about that part of his case. After all, when the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education, speaking in the name of the Government, says what he did on the subject of compulsion, if a private member takes a different view, that is comparatively a small matter. The Hon'ble Member is of opinion that, unless a person is absolutely and entirely in favour of every single clause of a Bill, he cannot be regarded as a supporter of the Bill. Now, Sir, as my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Haque has already pointed out, we are only considering the principle of the Bill to-day, and I have already explained that, when I said that certain persons were in favour of the Bill, I only meant that they were only in favour of the principle of the Bill. It should be remembered that

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a Bill is not like a law of the Medes and of the Persians or like Athene issuing from the head of Jove clad in full armour. A Bill is a series of proposals tentatively put forward before the public. Certain parts are fundamental and they cannot be allowed; but certain other parts are only tentatively put forward, and are liable to be revised in the light of such public criticism as is brought to bear upon them. If you take the view that he alone can be called a supporter who accepts every single clause of a Bill as first drafted, then no measure that was ever introduced in this world can be said to have been supported largely by the public.

"The Hon'ble Member also said that one result of my Bill would be that the areas that were more advanced would derive additional advantage and the areas that were more backward would be pushed still further back. This objection has also been urged by some other members. I have already pointed out that the objection is based on a complete misapprehension of my scheme such as it is. I do not want that the Provincial Governments should reduce in any way the expenditure that they are already incurring on the primary education of backward areas. And I do not for a moment suggest that future grants for primary education in backward areas on a voluntary scale should be reduced. But what I want is that, if certain local bodies want to go in for compulsion and are prepared to find a part of the cost, the Imperial Government, out of their own Exchequer, should come forward to the assistance of these bodies and provide the rest of the cost that would be required. If these local bodies do not go in for a compulsory scheme, the Government of India would probably be devoting its surplus revenues to various other purposes, such as to the reduction of debt and a number of other objects with which we are familiar. What I say, therefore, is that without touching the revenues of Provincial Governments, if any local body wanted to go in for compulsion and raised a part of the cost, the Government of India should come forward and supplement that cost out of their own exchequer. I do not see how this would constitute any disadvantage to the backward areas which in their turn would also be benefited by the arrangement.

"I will now come to the remarks of the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education. I hope the Hon'ble Member will permit me to say that it was with the utmost satisfaction that I listened to the concluding portion of his speech—not the controversial part, with which I will presently deal, but the concluding portion of his speech. That portion really is what matters to us, because it lays down the future policy of the Government of India so far as primary education is concerned. Sir, as I listened to those warm and enthusiastic words which fell from the Hon'ble Member, I could not help feeling what a great thing it would have been for the country if, instead of being an official, the Hon'ble Member had been a non-official and if we could have had an opportunity of placing ourselves under his banner and spreading the gospel of the necessity of mass education throughout the country under his lead. Sir, I think that portion of his speech will give great satisfaction throughout the country, even to those who are convinced that we should lose no more time in making a beginning in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory; because, taken with the opening words of his speech, it goes much further than any pronouncement on the part of Government has previously done. The Hon'ble Member stated at the beginning that no one would rejoice more than himself if primary education became free and compulsory in the country, and that it was the policy of the Government to so work that that desirable consummation should be brought about. That commits the Government of India, first, to an approval of the principle of free and compulsory education, and, secondly, to so conduct their educational operations that the time for making education free and compulsory would be hastened and not indefinitely put off. That, taken with the determination announced at the close of the speech, amounts to a practical promise that sooner than many of us imagine, the State will help us to reach the goal which we have before our eyes, the goal of free and compulsory education.



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"Sir, I will now deal with the principal points in the Hon'ble Member's speech. I am personally grateful to him, as also to the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, for the terms of appreciation in which they have spoken of my humble efforts in this matter; but I did not quite understand what the Hon'ble Member meant by observing that, while he was prepared to appreciate what I had been doing, he was somewhat disappointed to find that I did not equally appreciate what the officials had been doing. If he spoke of his Department, he knows that there is no warmer appreciator of the efforts of that Department than myself. If, however, he spoke of the officials generally, he cannot surely expect me to be grateful even to those officials who are against mass education itself. As regards a number of officials who are really striving to push on mass education, of course we all appreciate their efforts: but appreciating efforts of that kind is one thing and expressing disappointment at the pace at which we are moving is another thing. Without intending to cast any reflection on those officials who are doing what they can under the existing system to push on primary education, I think it is perfectly permissible to say that the pace at which we are going is very unsatisfactory. In fact, that is what the Hon'ble Member himself said yesterday, and that is all I have said. Sir, the Hon'ble Member referred to what I had said about the letter of the Bombay Government, and he asked the Council to remember that the head of the Bombay Government was Sir George Clarke; and he seemed to imply that I had cast some sort of reflection on Sir George Clarke. It is not necessary that I should say to this Council that I have always entertained the warmest admiration for Sir George Clarke, both personally for his remarkable qualities of head and heart, and also for the great services that he has rendered to the Bombay Presidency in many fields. But this is not a question of Sir George Clarke personally; it is a question of the letter which the Bombay Government as a Provincial Government has addressed to the Government of India; and I did mean yesterday, and I do say to-day, that even a great Provincial Government might show some courtesy to those who have the misfortune to differ from its views. I will give only one quotation to this Council. Speaking about a proposal that fees should be remitted and that free education should be introduced, the Bombay Government says: 'Such a policy would be regarded as a triumph by a few persons who have shown no understanding of educational questions.' Now, Sir, I understood the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education yesterday to favour free education. Many members here have also got up and said that they would like to have free education. Some of the officers belonging to the different Provincial Governments have expressed the view that education should be made free before it is made compulsory. But more than all, only five years ago the Government of India addressed a circular letter to all Local Governments advocating that fees should be abolished and that free education should be introduced. I therefore respectfully pass on this description of the Bombay Government of those who favour free education to the Hon'ble Member and to the Government of India!

"Sir, the Hon'ble Member asked, who were they who were in favour of this Bill? Now, that is a very easy way of disposing of all those who are inconveniently ranged on the other side. Those who are in favour of the Bill may be divided into two classes, namely, those who belong to the educated classes, and those who belong to the backward communities. Now, you can discredit the support given by these two sections in two separate ways. The Central Provinces Government, for instance, says that the members of the educated classes might be in favour; but what does it cost them to be in favour? The question does not really concern them, and mere heroic resolutions in favour of this proposal do not really count for much. On the other hand, if members of backward communities assemble and express themselves in favour, the argument is used, what do they understand of the Bill? They have not the intelligence to understand what would be the effects of the Bill. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Mudholkar reminds me that only a short time ago a meeting of 2,500 Mahars, that is, one of the most depressed classes on our side, was held in Berar and passed a resolution in favour of this Bill. If you ask me if every member of that body understood what the Bill was, I could not

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answer that question in the affirmative; but they must have had a fairly general idea that the Bill was intended to make education compulsory, and that under it their children would be compelled to go to school so that they might derive the benefits of education. The analogy of the three tailors of Tooley Street could in my opinion be applied far more to the persons opposed to the Bill than to those who are in favour of the Bill.

"Now, Sir, I come to my examples from different countries. The Hon'ble Member said, before dealing with these analogies, that there are differences in this country of caste, differences of script, differences of language. But that only means that we have a bigger problem than elsewhere. It does not mean that we cannot tackle the problem successfully. What have these differences to do with the question of compulsion? You have got primary schools just now to teach different scripts, and different languages and for different communities; all that is necessary is to increase their schools and introduce compulsion in regard to attending them.

"The Hon'ble Member, speaking of the case of England, said that in England compulsory education and compulsory attendance came six and ten years after the compulsory provision of educational facilities. Will my Hon'ble friend allow me to say that that statement is not correct? The Act of 1870, which required the compulsory provision of educational facilities, at the same time empowered local authorities to frame bye-laws, whereby the attendance of children could be secured compulsorily at school. Of course it was a purely permissive provision, which some local authorities used and some did not. But that is precisely what this Bill proposes to do. In 1876, the next step was taken when the responsibility was thrown on the parents to send their children compulsorily to school, and the whole fabric was ultimately completed in the year 1880, when local authorities were compelled to frame bye-laws. But the Act of 1870 was in many respects similar to the Bill which I have laid before the Council, because this Bill on the one side empowers local bodies to introduce compulsion and on the other throws the responsibility on them to provide the necessary educational facilities.

"The Hon'ble Member has told the Council that in Japan it is persuasion and not compulsion that has produced the present results. An answer to that was given this morning in the course of the debate, that persuasion there has succeeded because there is compulsion behind it to fall back upon. All that we want is that we too should have compulsion to fall back upon and our persuasion also will then succeed much more than it can do at present.

"Then, Sir, as regards the question of the Philippines. The Hon'ble Member said that there was no State law of compulsion in the Philippines. That is quite true, but that is exactly what I myself had stated last year. This is what I had said:

'Under Spanish rule there was no system of popular education in the Philippines. As soon as the Islands passed into the possession of the United States, they drew up a regular programme of expenditure which has been systematically adhered to. The aim is to make primary education universal and the educational authorities advise compulsion though no compulsory law has yet been enacted. In the matter of education many Municipalities have introduced compulsion by local ordinances.'

"That is my point. Of course, these local ordinances have been held by some to be illegal; they have been framed under powers that were conferred on local bodies by the Spanish Government. That, however, is a separate matter. It is significant that nobody has come forward on the side of the people to question the validity of these local ordinances.

"Coming to Ceylon, the Hon'ble Member said that 60 per cent. of the population of Ceylon were Buddhists. What has religion got to do with the question of compulsion? If you mean to say that there are no castes among the Buddhists, and therefore the difficulty is less, I say there are no castes among the Muhammadans of this country, and yet what have you done to introduce compulsory education among the 100 per cent. of the Muhammadans of this country?



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"Finally, I come to the question of Baroda. The Hon'ble Member quoted figures which largely go against him. In the first place, he said that even according to the last census the percentage of literacy in Baroda was only 17 for the male population while the percentage in a British district—Broach—was 24. This is quite true; but that only helps me, for it shows that Baroda resorted to compulsion even before that State was as advanced as the neighbouring British territory in the matter of the spread of education. We have been told again and again that there must be a certain general diffusion of education before you can take in hand compulsion, and I accepted, with some reluctance, a percentage of 33 as the proportion of children of school-going age who should be at school before compulsion could be introduced. Here, however, we find in Baroda, even when education was much more backward than it is in the surrounding British territories, the State took up compulsion—a point distinctly in my favour, and not against me. Then, Sir, compulsory education was introduced in Baroda only five years ago. Surely my Hon'ble friend does not expect that the illiteracy of those who were beyond the school-going age five years ago would be touched by the compulsory education introduced during the last five years. The bulk of the population had passed beyond that stage five years ago, and of course they all come into the census figures of illiterates. But let us wait for another ten years and then we shall see a great difference if the British Government continues—as I hope it will not—on its present voluntary basis and the Baroda Government on its compulsory basis. Then, Sir, the Hon'ble Member gave some figures for Broach. Well, I accept those figures—6·9 of the total population being at school in the whole district of Broach. But the Hon'ble Member should compare likes with likes. Broach is the most advanced district of the five districts which constitute Gujarat. If the Hon'ble Member takes that district, he should also take the most advanced division in the Baroda State for comparison. Else the comparison will not be fair. If you take the most advanced division in Baroda, which is, I find, the Navsari Division, the percentage of those who are at school to the total population is nearly 13 as against 6·8 for Broach—about double. So those figures after all really do not help the Hon'ble Member very much. The Hon'ble Member says that the percentage of attendance in Baroda to the total population is 8·5. I have got with me the report for 1911, which is recent enough, and I find there that the proportion for the whole State of those who are in primary schools is 9·5 and not 8·5: 8·5 is the attendance in village schools only. The proportion of all who are receiving primary education is 9·5. I will show the report to the Hon'ble Member afterwards if he likes; I have got it here with me. In your most advanced district in British territories—Broach—it is 6·8. Already this makes a difference. If you allow things to go on like this, will it take long for the British Government to lag behind Baroda—a contingency which, I am very glad to see, the Hon'ble Member regards with horror?

"Then, Sir, the Hon'ble Member, relied on the support of the Bombay Corporation. Let me warn him again that he is leaning on a broken reed indeed. The Bombay Corporation is not only in favour of the principle of free and compulsory education, but it would like to throw the whole cost, or nearly the whole cost, on Imperial revenues. Is the Hon'ble Member prepared to accept that? Let him part company with the Bombay Corporation while there is yet time. He also spoke of the Malabar District Board's opinion that it is better to improve education than to go in for universal education. Who proposes universal education straight off? We propose that we should only make a beginning in the direction of compulsory education and gradually advance, in the course of 10, 15 or 20 years. All the objections that are based on the assumption that we propose to go in straight for universal education are based on a misapprehension and therefore need not be considered any further. In this connection I would like to notice one remark which fell from the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp about the banishment of illiteracy. I am not so simple as to imagine that if you introduce compulsion in a few areas you will banish illiteracy straightway from the whole land. But the problem is a vast one; let us take it in hand

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[Mr. Gokhale.]

at once and make a beginning, that is what I say. Unless you make a beginning at once, the prospect is not very cheering.

"Sir, one of the most important points raised in this discussion—it has been urged by several members—is this—first have schools, first have trained teachers, and then propose that education should be made compulsory. Now, those who will go through the parliamentary discussions of 1870 will find in the volumes of Hansard that the same arguments were urged in England when the Act of 1870 was proposed. Where are the teachers? Where are the school-houses? That was what was urged against that measure. But I would like to ask what is really meant by this objection. If you call upon a local body merely to build schools, if you call upon either Local Governments or local bodies merely to have trained teachers without saying where they are to work, do you think anybody would take such a proposal seriously? Not unless you gave the local bodies at the same time the power to compel attendance. If a school is built or hired, local bodies should have the power to fill the school at once. They cannot build a school and then, with doors thrown open, wait for any stray children to walk in. You must give them the power to compel attendance simultaneously. That is what the English Act of 1870 did. It compelled local authorities to provide school accommodation. But at the same time it empowered them to compel attendance at school, no doubt in a permissive way, as this Bill does. What I say is, that the two things must go hand in hand; you cannot urge that one thing should come before the other. It is the same thing about teachers: you must be satisfied with untrained teachers for a time. After all, too much has been made of trained teachers; not that I depreciate the value of trained teachers, but for the purpose of giving the most elementary type of education—for imparting a knowledge of the 3 R's—I think even untrained teachers are not as useless as they are depicted. Most of the Indian members in this Council received their primary education under untrained teachers. The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp said that he had *visited* thousands of primary schools: Sir, we have *learnt* in primary schools. We have experience from the inside of these schools. How did we receive our primary education? I remember how I did it. We used to squat on the floor with a wooden board in front of us covered with red powder and a piece of stick to write letters with. Well, we have done fairly well in life after all, though we received our primary education in that way under untrained teachers. It is a question of removing illiteracy first of all. And here I should like to quote an important authority—the authority of the Bombay Government. Two years ago, Sir George Clarke—I think it was in his Convocation speech—took the same line that the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education took yesterday and the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp did to-day. 'You must first have trained teachers; the quality of education must be raised; you must have proper school-houses, and so on.' Last year, however, he came round to the other view. A Resolution was issued by the Bombay Government (I do not know whether my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Enthoven was then Secretary in the Education Department in Bombay) on the spread of primary education in rural areas. And what does that Resolution say? It gives up the insistence on trained teachers and good school-houses, and it proposes to place primary education on an indigenous, aided basis in rural areas, giving grants to untrained teachers and allowing them to teach as well as they can, the curriculum of course being under the control of the Department. Now, this is precisely what we want all over the country to begin with. First establish at once these lower primary schools, then go on, as you have funds, improving the standards, bring in trained teachers, and having better school-houses. And for God's sake do not wait for your trained teachers, for your decent school-houses, till you take up the question of removing illiteracy from the land in hand. That is really the whole of my contention."

"I wish now to turn to the question of cost, and will only deal very briefly with it. The Hon'ble Member said he would like to take Rs. 10 as the figure per head. I meet him there with official authority. Mr. Orange—no amateur—in charge of Education before the Department was created,—Director-General of Education,—in an estimate that he prepared, not for a discussion in this Council, but for the Government, took Rs. 5 as the average cost per head: the



## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

[Mr. Gokhale.]

[19TH MARCH 1912.]

Hon'ble Mr. Sharp will correct me if I am wrong ; I know he cannot, because he knows that I am right. Mr. Orange took Rs. 5 per head. I think that that estimate holds the field and any mere vague statement that it might be more than this, that it might be 6 or 7 or 10 rupees, we are not bound to accept till the Hon'ble Member challenges the estimate of Mr. Orange and proves it to be an underestimate. And if we take Rs. 5 per head, the figures I have given are quite correct. Sir, I have already dealt with the argument that if compulsion is introduced in advanced areas, the spread of education in backward areas will suffer. I should deplore any action that could produce such a result ; but I am sure there is no real foundation for the fear. How can any one imagine that those who want to see free and compulsory education all over the country would be a party to any scheme which would retard, instead of promoting, education in backward areas ?

"Sir, there is one more point and I shall have done. The Hon'ble Member spoke yesterday of the desirability of such questions being dealt with by Local Legislative Councils. I have no objection to that. If Local Legislatures will take up this question and empower local bodies within their limits to introduce compulsion, I have no objection. Only I hope that that will not absolve the Government of India from the responsibility of finding the money, because it is essential that the Government share of the cost of compulsion should come out of the Exchequer of the Government of India, no matter what the estimate is. Sir, to those who profess to be appalled by the amount of money that will be required, I will mention only one fact. The military expenditure of this country—owing to the exigencies of the State—I will not enter just now into its justification or otherwise—has risen in 35 years from 16 crores to about 31 crores of rupees—an increase of 15 crores a year. It was 16 crores at the end of Lord Ripon's administration ; it is nearly 31 crores now. If our military expenditure could be increased by 15 crores like this because the State thought it necessary to find the money, the spread of education, which is surely just as important as the defence of the country, has also a similar claim on Government revenues, whatever amount is actually required. And I am quite sure the State will be able to find the money, if the Government of India do not try to throw the responsibility on Local Governments. On this condition, I do not object to Local Legislatures taking up this question. Sir, the whole question, as my Hon'ble friend Mr. Jinnah has pointed out, is, what is your practical programme, whether you propose to secure universal mass education in this country in a reasonable time, or whether you want to wait for an indefinite time. The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp has given us the figures for the last five years. I have worked out the calculation from the figures I have here, and it comes to an increase of about 120,000 boys a year. Take the difference between the figure at the beginning and the figure at the end, and divide it by 5. The result is not 240,000 as the Hon'ble Member said. I admit that 120,000 is better than 75,000, but the whole question is, what is the practical programme before us ? Do we expect to cover the whole of this field in a reasonable time, or do we want to leave it to the future indefinitely ? In one case another century will have to elapse before the whole problem is solved ; in the other case, proceeding on the lines on which most of the civilised countries have proceeded, we shall be able to solve this problem in about twenty years or so. I therefore urge that the question of compulsion must be taken in hand at once ; and taking into consideration the fact that there is this increased awakening in the country both on the side of the people and of the Government for primary education, and considering that the State is more willing now to find the money, I for one feel that we are not so far from compulsion after all, as some people seem to imagine. Sir, I ask that this motion should be put to the vote."

The Council divided :

*Ayes—13.*

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon'ble Raja of Dighapatia, the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu, the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha, the Hon'ble Mr. Haque, the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad, the

*ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.*

[19TH MARCH 1912.]

Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao, the Hon'ble Raja of Kurupam, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, the Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar, the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri, and the Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey.

*Noes—38.*

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle, the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam, the Hon'ble Mr. Clark, the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock, the Hon'ble Major General Sir M. H. S. Grover, the Hon'ble Mr. MacLagan, the Hon'ble Mr. Porter, the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, the Hon'ble Mr. Enthoven, the Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler, the Hon'ble Mr. Brunyate, the Hon'ble Sir A. H. McMahon, the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid, the Hon'ble Raja of Parthagarh, the Hon'ble Mr. Lyon, the Hon'ble Mr. Saunders, the Hon'ble Sir James Meston, the Hon'ble Mr. Gordon, the Hon'ble Surgeon General Sir C. P. Lukis, the Hon'ble Mr. Fremantle, the Hon'ble Mr. Vincent, the Hon'ble Mr. Carr, the Hon'ble Mr. Arthur, the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis, the Hon'ble Mr. Phillips, the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, the Hon'ble Mr. Meredith, the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, the Hon'ble Malik Umar Hyat Khan, the Hon'ble Maung Mye, the Hon'ble Mr. Gates, the Hon'ble Mr. Slacke, the Hon'ble Sir Charles Stewart-Wilson, the Hon'ble Mr. Dempster, the Hon'ble Mr. Kenrick, and the Hon'ble Mr. Kesteven.

So the motion was negatived.

The Council adjourned to Friday, the 22nd March 1912.

W. H. VINCENT,

*Secretary to the Government of India,  
Legislative Department.*

CALCUTTA ;  
The 29th March 1912. }





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Separate paging is given to this Part in order that it may be filed as a separate compilation.

## PART VI.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA,  
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS  
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 TO  
1909 (24 & 25 VICT., c. 87, 55 & 56 VICT., c. 14, AND 9 EDW. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at Government House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 22nd  
March 1912.

### PRESENT:

His Excellency BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.,  
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor General of India, presiding,  
and 53 Members, of whom 46 were Additional Members.

### QUESTION AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Sir Cecil Graham, on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr.  
Armstrong, asked:

"Will Government be pleased—

(1) To state the amount of the cash balances held in the Home Treasury  
at the close of each month since March 1911?

(2) To state—

(a) how much of the balances were invested, and

(b) in what form the investments were made?

(3) To issue a statement monthly in future giving the amount of the cash  
balances held in the Home Treasury at the close of the preceding month and  
the particulars asked for in question 2?

(4) To state which Banks in England have been approved for the purpose  
of lodging with them Treasury money without requiring a deposit of securities  
as cover for money so lodged?

(5) To state whether in view of the experiences of the year 1908, when the  
balance of trade turned against India and necessitated large drawings on the  
Gold Standard Reserve, Government have considered it necessary to take  
further measures for better securing the stability of the gold standard?

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

[*Sir Cecil Graham ; Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson.*] [22ND MARCH 1912.]

(6) To state whether by increasing the cash balances in the Home Treasury it has been the intention to supplement the Gold Standard Reserve as a guarantee for the stability of Exchange ?

(7) If the answer to question (6) is in the affirmative, to state whether the method of supplementing the Gold Standard Reserve by means of increased cash balances in the Home Treasury has been adopted as a substitute for the method formerly intended as explained by the Hon'ble Sir James Meston in 1910 when he stated that he had every hope that the Secretary of State would supplement the Reserve if needed by gold borrowings ?

(8) To state whether Government have considered that the maintenance of very large cash balances in the Home Treasury constitutes a heavy burden on the Indian tax-payer ?

(9) If the answer to question (6) is in the affirmative, to state whether Government have considered that borrowing in gold to supplement the Gold Standard Reserve to meet adverse Exchange conditions when they arise would be less expensive for Indian tax-payers than cash balances largely created from revenue ?

(10) To state whether the sum of about two millions sterling derived from the opium-revenue which was to be remitted to the Home Treasury during the year 1910-11 for reduction of floating debt, as announced in the last Budget Statement, has been applied in reducing the floating debt ?

(11) To state how much floating debt has been issued during the current financial year, and how much repaid ?

(12) To state for what purpose floating debt was issued during the current financial year ?

(13) To state—

(a) the average rate of interest derived from the employment of the Home Treasury cash balances in the market and with Banks during the current year to the latest date for which the information is available ;

(b) the average rate of interest at which India bills were floated during the current year ?”

The Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, with His Excellency the President's permission, laid the following answers on the table :

“(1) A statement\* is laid on the table which gives the figures up to December 1911. It excludes sums held in cash on behalf of the Gold Standard Reserve.

(2) (a) and (b). The balances at the end of December last were invested as follows:—

(a) on loan to approved borrowers on security, £10,650,000.

(b) placed in deposit with approved banks, £3,715,000.

(3) The suggestion that statements of the kind asked for should be published monthly will require careful consideration. The Government of India will consult the Secretary of State on the subject.

(4) Deposits have been made from time to time with the following seven Banks:—

London County and Westminster, National Provincial Bank of England, Union of London and Smith's Bank, London Joint Stock Bank, London City and Midland Bank, Glyn, Mills, Currie and Company, Barclay and Company.

(5) The subject of the Gold Standard Reserve is one which receives continual attention from the Government of India and the Secretary of State in Council, but the Secretary of State is of opinion that the experience of the year 1908 afforded satisfactory evidence of the strength of the Gold Standard Reserve as it is now regulated.

\* *Vide Appendix.*



## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

[22ND MARCH 1912.] [Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson; Mr. Gokhale; Mr. Wheeler.]

(6) (7) The answer is in the negative. In this connection the Hon'ble Member's attention is invited to the replies given in the Council in Simla on the 18th September last to his second question on the subject of the cash balances held in the Home Treasury, in which the causes operating to swell the balances in recent years were fully explained.

(8) (9) The causes which, as explained in the reply of the 18th September last and elsewhere, have recently raised the total balance of the Government of India in England and in India to an unusually high figure, do not throw a burden on the Indian taxpayer, nor is such a burden thrown on him by reason of the fact that, in course of meeting the convenience of trade, a considerable portion of the balance has been temporarily transferred to the Home Treasury.

(10) The sum is to be applied to the discharge of the temporary debt of the year 1912-13. Particulars of the temporary debt to be discharged in 1912-13 are given in the Financial Statement.

(11) No new floating debt was issued during the current year, although £4½ millions of bills were renewed. The amount repaid was £½ million.

(12) As explained above, there was no issue of floating debt during the current year.

(13) (a). The approximate average rate of interest for the year ending 31st March 1912 on loans to approved borrowers on security is calculated to be 2·60, and on deposits with approved banks, 2·43 per cent. per annum.

(b) The average rate of interest on India Bills renewed during the current year is 2·97 per cent. per annum."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale asked :**

2. "Will the Government be pleased to state what steps, if any, have been taken during the year to provide the country with a system of independent audit, in regard to which the Hon'ble the Finance Member asked last year 'for time to mature proposals'?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson replied :**

"The whole question has been thoroughly examined in consultation with the Comptroller-General, and proposals are now being prepared for submission to the Secretary of State."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale asked :**

"With reference to the statement made by the Hon'ble the Home Member on 26th February last, in reply to my question about the appointment of qualified men outside the ranks of the Indian Medical Service to senior Clinical Professorships in Medical Colleges, namely, 'it is because the best qualified Professors have hitherto only been found among the members of Indian Medical Service that these posts till now have been filled from that service,' will the Government be pleased to state what steps were taken by them to ascertain if competent outsiders were available? Are not appointments to Professorial Chairs invariably advertised, before selections are made, in the United Kingdom? Will the Government state if this practice was ever followed in the past in regard to Professorships in Indian Medical Colleges?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler replied :**

"No Clinical Chairs in Government Medical Colleges have so far been thrown open to candidates outside the ranks of the Indian Medical Service, and no outside candidates have accordingly been hitherto invited to apply.

Government have no information as to the practice followed in the United Kingdom in filling Professorial Chairs, and in any case the conditions there prevailing are not identical with those in this country. Recently candidates

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

[*Mr. Wheeler; Mr. Gokhale; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; Mr. Mudholkar; Sir Harcourt Butler.*] [22ND MARCH 1912.]

were invited by advertisement for the Chair of Anatomy in the Medical College, Calcutta, and a similar procedure is now being followed with respect to the Chair of Physics in the same institution."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale:** "Will Government make inquiries about the practice in the United Kingdom?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler:** "Should occasion arise, they will doubtless do so."

**The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya asked:**

"(a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the recommendation of the Public Service Commission of 1886 that in the High Courts of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay the number of Judges selected from the judicial branch of the Provincial Service or from advocates and pleaders of the High Courts should be increased?"

"(b) Will the Government be pleased to state if any member of the Provincial Civil Service has been appointed a Judge of the High Court at Calcutta since the recommendation above referred to was made?"

"(c) If no one has been appointed, does the Government propose to take into consideration the claims of the members of the Bengal Provincial Civil Service when the next vacancy has to be filled up on the High Court Bench?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler replied:**

"(a) The Government of India are aware of the Public Service Commission's recommendation referred to by the Hon'ble Member.

"(b) No member of the Provincial Service has yet been appointed to the Calcutta High Court Bench, but advocates and pleaders have been frequently selected.

"(c) The claims of all persons eligible for appointment are considered on the occurrence of a vacancy, and this practice will continue to be followed."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar asked:**

"Is it a fact that in 1908 a Committee presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. M. W. Fox-Strangways, who is now officiating as Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, was appointed to inquire into and report on the steps necessary for the reorganization of the Educational Services in the Central Provinces, and that that Committee made certain recommendations?"

"If so, will Government be pleased to state what those recommendations were, what was the view of the Local Government in regard thereto, and what action the Government of India have taken in the matter?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied:**

"The Hon'ble Member is probably alluding to a Committee which, under the presidency of Mr. Fox-Strangways, considered the improvement of Secondary Education, and to another Conference held at Panchmarhi in June, 1908, on the same subject. These Committees made certain recommendations regarding the Educational Services. The Government of India do not consider it expedient to make known at present the precise recommendations of the two Committees and of the Chief Commissioner. The Chief Commissioner has made recommendations which are under the consideration of the Government of India."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar asked:**

"Is it a fact that the position of the Indian staff of the Government College at Jubbulpur as regards pay and status still continues to be in the same



## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

[22ND MARCH 1912.]

[*Mr. Mudholkar; Sir Harcourt Butler; Mr. Dadabhoy; Mr. Wheeler; Mr. Bhurgri; Sir Robert Carlyle.*]

condition as it was when the Quinquennial Report on Education of 1907 brought this matter to the notice of Government, and is Government aware that professors of proved ability after long service are in receipt of monthly salaries of Rs. 400, Rs. 270 and similar sums ?”

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler** replied :

“ A reference has been made to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, and the information required will be supplied in due course.”

**The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy** asked :

“ Is the Government aware that the amended Central Provinces Civil Courts Act provides for the hearing of certain classes of appeals, both civil and criminal, by Benches composed of two Judges ; that after the Act came into force, no additional Judge has been appointed ; and that there is at present a congestion in the business of the Judicial Commissioner's Court ?

“ If so, does Government propose to appoint a fourth Judge for the Court to ensure proper despatch in business ? ”

**The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler** replied :

“ Section 5 (2) of the Central Provinces Courts Act, 1904 (II of 1904), as amended by Act XI of 1910, authorises the making of rules to provide for the exercise of any of the powers of the Court of the Judicial Commissioner by a bench of two or more Judges of the Court. No additional Judge has been appointed since the date upon which the amending Act came into force.

The Government of India have received no representation from the Chief Commissioner as to the existence of any congestion of business in the Judicial Commissioner's Court, and have no proposal before them for the appointment to the Court of a fourth Judge.”

**The Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri** asked :

“ With reference to the reply given by Government to my question about the Sukkur Weir on the 7th instant, do Government propose to call for the information from the Inspector-General of Irrigation, and lay it on the Council table ? ”

**The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle** replied :

“ Government have now received the report of the Inspector-General of Irrigation, but they do not propose to lay before the Council any information with regard to the scheme until they have given it their careful consideration.”

**The Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri** asked :

“(a) Will Government be pleased to state if there are any special Muhammadan Deputy Educational Inspectors of Schools in any of the provinces of India ?

“(b) If so, are there any special schools for Muhammadans alone maintained by Government ?

“(c) If so, will Government be pleased to state the number of such Deputy Inspectors in each province, the nature of the duties they perform, and also the number of such special schools under their charge ? ”

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler** replied :

“ The information required has been called from Local Governments, and will be laid on the table in due course.”

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

[*Raja of Dighapatia*; *Sir Harcourt Butler*; *Mr. Wheeler*.] [22ND MARCH 1912.]

**The Hon'ble the Raja of Dighapatia asked:—**

"Is it intended to revise the Local Self-Government Acts of the various Provinces with a view to extend the principle of election into their constitution as recommended by the Decentralisation Commission?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied:**

"Local Governments have been consulted on the recommendations of the Royal Commission, and the matter will be considered by the Government of India when their replies have been received."

**The Hon'ble the Raja of Dighapatia asked:**

"Has the Government thought of the advisability of constituting a Local Government Board for a more efficient control of local bodies as suggested by Lord Morley in his despatch to the Government of India dated the 27th November, 1908. If so, what action does the Government intend to take in the matter?"

"Is it intended to make the Indian villages the basal unit in the Local Self-government scheme as proposed by Lord Morley in the same despatch? If so, what steps are being taken in this connection?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied:**

"The question of the advisability of creating a Department in each province to deal exclusively with matters connected with Local Government, which was the suggestion contained in the Secretary of State's despatch, has been referred to Local Governments for opinion, and their replies are under the consideration of the Government of India."

"The Royal Commission on Decentralization dealt at length with the question of village reorganization, and their recommendations have been referred to local Governments for opinion. The whole question will be considered on receipt of their replies."

**The Hon'ble the Raja of Dighapatia asked:**

"Will the Government lay on the table a complete list of newspapers in India, if any, still in receipt of Government subsidies with the amount of subsidy drawn by each?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler replied:**

"The following is a complete list of newspapers in India, still in receipt of subsidies from Government with the amount of subsidy drawn by each annually:—

	Rs.
<i>Bombay—Jagad Vritta</i> newspaper—annual subsidy . . .	15,000
<i>Bengal—Sulav Samachar</i> newspaper—annual subsidy . . .	62,500
<i>Eastern Bengal and Assam—Biswa Barta</i> newspaper—annual subsidy . . .	32,000 "

**The Hon'ble the Raja of Dighapatia asked:**

"Would the Government be pleased to state in what respects the new University of Dacca will differ from the University of Calcutta, and what will be its jurisdiction and the nature of its affiliation and examinations?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied:**

"The Government of India are not prepared to make any announcement as to the constitution of the University at Dacca until they have received the views of the Government of Bengal."



**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.**

[22ND MARCH, 1912.]

[*Raja of Dighapatia ; Sir Harcourt Butler ; Nawab Saiyid Muhammad ; Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson ; Raja Partab Bahadur Singh ; Mr. Wheeler.*]**The Hon'ble the Raja of Dighapatia asked :**

"Does the Government propose to consider the advisability of founding some scholarships tenable in Europe for Indian students to equip themselves for the work of research in Archaeology and Oriental studies generally?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :**

"The training of Indian students in archaeological research and in oriental studies generally is receiving the earnest attention of the Government of India. No announcement can be made at present."

**The Hon'ble the Raja of Dighapatia asked :**

"Do the Government propose to devote any portion of the special grant for education announced at the last Delhi Durbar for the improvement of the hostels attached to the private colleges? If so, would there be any special conditions attached to such grants?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :**

"Out of the grant of 50 lakhs announced at Delhi for education, 5 lakhs have been distributed for hostels. The utilization of the sums so assigned rests with the Local Governments."

**The Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad asked :**

"(a) Are the Government aware that the rules for the discussion of the Financial Statement in the Provincial Councils are not uniform in the various provinces?"

"(b) Have the Government perused the comments of the Hon'ble Non-Official Members in the Madras Legislative Council made last year on the manner in which the Rules have been interpreted and worked in that Presidency?"

"(c) Are the Government aware that the Government of the United Provinces have adopted a different course and taken the members in their confidence when framing their preliminary estimates?"

"(d) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to call for a report on the subject and lay down or suggest modifications in the present procedure, which will be in accordance with the Reform proposals?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson replied :**

"The Rules for the discussion of the Financial Statement are not absolutely uniform in the different provinces. I am not however aware of any precise difficulty in the mind of the Hon'ble Member, and I would suggest that he should refer it in the first instance to his Local Government. There is no intention of calling for a report on the present procedure."

**The Hon'ble Raja Partab Bahadur Singh asked :**

"Will the Government be pleased to state if a despatch regarding the re-organisation of the Provincial Judicial Service in the United Provinces has been sent to the Secretary of State for India? If so, will the Government be pleased to state when the said despatch was sent and the approximate time within which the reply of the Secretary of State is expected?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler replied :**

"The Secretary of State has not yet been addressed."

**BUDGET FOR 1912-13 ; SUSPENSION OF RULES OF BUSINESS.**

[*Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson ; the President.*] [22ND MARCH 1912.]

**BUDGET FOR 1912-13.**

**The Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson :** " My Lord, the Financial Statement which I laid before this Council on the 1st of March has now passed through the various stages prescribed by our regulations, and on the whole it has met with a reception which cannot be otherwise than gratifying to the Government of India. What I now lay upon the table is the Statement in its final form as the Budget of next year. It has been again examined in close detail, and revised wherever necessary in the light of later information and in accordance with such alterations as Local Governments have made in their Provincial figures after the discussions in their Legislative Councils. The explanatory memorandum has also been thoroughly checked and brought up to date. There will be no debate upon the Budget to-day ; but on Monday there will be the usual closing discussion which marks the end of the Calcutta session.

*Revised, 1911-12.*

" In our Revised estimate for the current year, the corrections which have been made on receipt of the February figures have had the effect of raising the Imperial surplus to just over £3 millions. The Land-revenue is coming in better than we expected in the Punjab, United Provinces, Burma and Bombay ; and the Imperial share of the improvement is £142,000. The striking expansion of Railway traffic has compelled us to enhance our estimate under that head by £133,000 since the beginning of the month. Salt continues progressive ; Customs, Stamps and Excise receipts have all been on the up-grade ; and the March sales of opium in Calcutta again exceeded our forecast. The total net betterness is £343,000. The only appreciable item on the other side of the account appears in the Home charges, where there is an excess of £98,000, part of which I foreshadowed in the Financial Statement.

*Budget, 1912-13.*

" For next year there have been several unimportant corrections with which I need not weary the Council. We have had to raise our forecast of Salt-revenue in sympathy with the improvement which is now at work ; and we have made slight additions, for the same reason, to our Stamps and Excise estimates. On the other hand, the Land-revenue has had to come down in consequence of some unexpected advance collections in the current month ; and the more exact figures which we have now obtained indicate that the imposition of the Proprietary Estates Village Service Cess in Madras has progressed so far that its remission will cost us more in 1912-13 than our preliminary estimate had suggested. The net result of these and a few other corrections leaves our Imperial surplus for next year at £1,478,300, being within five lakhs of the figure which I took in the Financial Statement.

*Ways and Means.  
1911-12 and 1912-13.*

" Turning to Capital expenditure and Ways and Means generally, I have to record a further improvement of £853,000 in this year's closing balance. Part of this is due to the improvement in the Imperial Surplus (£343,000) ; part to additional savings in the Provincial grants (£249,000) ; and most of the remainder to further lapses in State Railway Capital outlay (£245,000). The closing balance of 1912-13 will not, so far as I can judge, obtain the whole benefit of this improvement, as we have had to raise some of the Provincial grants and provide for larger outgoings of Imperial loans and advances. But the balances will be £584,000 better than my estimate of the 1st March. In view of the continued high sales of Council Bills in the current month, we have raised our figure of remittances by £600,000. In no other respect has there been any important alteration in the figures already placed before the Council."

**SUSPENSION OF RULES OF BUSINESS.**

**The Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson :** " My Lord, I ask Your Lordship to suspend rule 10 of the Rules for the discussion of matters of general public interest in order to admit of the discussion of the Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas Thackersey's Resolutions before the legislative business. "

**His Excellency the President :** " I suspend the rule. "



## GOLD CURRENCY.

[22ND MARCH 1912.]

[Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey.]

## GOLD CURRENCY.

The Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey moved the following Resolution :

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Indian Mints be now thrown open to the free coinage of gold in coins of suitable denominations."

He said :—"My Lord, last year in my Budget speech I recommended the throwing open of the Indian mints to the free coinage of gold, and I proposed the minting of gold coins of the value of Rs. 10 each. My friend the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson was good enough to say that Government would give due consideration to that proposal. The country has not heard anything further as yet from Government as to their intention in the matter, though we have had a great deal of animated discussion in England and in India upon my proposal. Those who have attacked my proposal most vehemently, like the *Statist* for example, have totally misapprehended it to be something new and unheard of before. As a matter of fact, however, there has never been the least doubt that the goal of our currency policy is a gold standard with a gold currency. The only reason which weighed with the successive Committees and Commissions which had been appointed to report on our currency in not recommending the immediate introduction of a gold currency, was the want of gold and the difficulty of securing it except by raising a very big gold loan. Let me quote the words of the Indian Currency Committee of 1898. They observed :

'We are in favour of making the British sovereign a legal tender and a current coin in India. We also consider that, at the same time, the Indian mints should be thrown open to the unrestricted coinage of gold on terms and conditions such as governed the three Australian Branches of the Royal Mint.'

"That was in 1898. At the Council meeting of the 25th August 1899, the Hon'ble Mr. Clinton Dawkins, the then Finance Member, in asking permission to postpone the motion for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1870, and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1882, said :

'The Bill is intended, I may say very shortly, to give effect to the recommendations contained in the report of the Indian Currency Committee which has been endorsed by the Secretary of State and are generally accepted by the Government of India. Those recommendations include making the sovereign legal tender at the rate of Rs. 15 to 1 sovereign and will provide for the coinage of gold in India.'

"And again, on the 8th September 1899, while introducing the said Bill, he said :

'The measure of transcendent importance before us is to place the currency of India on a gold basis and a stable exchange. To provide for actual striking of gold coinage at an Indian mint is really a corollary, and no practical inconvenience will arise from a short delay. We could not proceed to strike coin until we receive the necessary machinery that has been ordered from England.'

"He further went to say :

'Into the arguments of a gold standard and gold currency, I think no one will expect me to enter. The arguments for and against have been exhausted and Government is proceeding on the condition that no other measure would save India from disastrous embarrassment.'

"That was in 1899. Then again, in 1900, Sir Clinton Dawkins in the Financial Statement made these remarks :—

'It has been decided to constitute a branch of the Royal Mint at the Bombay Mint for the coinage of gold. The terms of the Proclamation, to be issued, under the Imperial Coinage Act, have been settled, and we are merely awaiting now, until the Royal Mint has satisfied itself as regards the Mint premises and appliances at Bombay. A representative of the Royal Mint is starting this week for Bombay to report. The gold from the Mysore mines is indeed already reaching us in anticipation of coinage, and we count upon receiving an annual increment to our stock of gold of from 1½ to 2 millions from this source. And may I perhaps express satisfaction in passing that we have been able to assist the Indian gold-mining industry by saving it the freight and charges incidental to the transmission of its gold to London.'

"Sir Clinton Dawkins, when he made this announcement, was speaking not only on behalf of the Government of India but also on behalf of the Secretary

V I B

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of State. For we find that in 1900 the Secretary of State for India was so thoroughly convinced of the necessity of introducing and popularising gold coins that in a despatch dated the 24th of May of that year he remarked :

‘To make the use of gold coins more popular, and especially among the class of people for whom a coin valued at Rs. 15 is an unduly large unit, it may be desirable for your Government to coin gold pieces of three or five rupees at the Calcutta Mint which should be made legal tender but would be issued altogether irrespectively of the Branch of the Royal Mint at Bombay.’

“The Government of India circulated the despatch and asked for the opinion of the Chambers of Commerce. In reply the Chairman of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, on the 10th July 1900, said :

‘The matter having received the careful consideration of the Committee of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, I am to say that they approve of the proposal as they consider it would assist in popularising the gold coinage in India.’

“He further said in conclusion :

‘While on this subject the Committee desire respectfully to suggest that, with the view to making the present gold currency more popular in India, Government should consider the advisability of issuing new gold coins stamped as follows :

£1 & Rs. 15.

Sh. 10 or Rs. 7½.

“The Bombay Chamber of Commerce, in their letter to the Government of India dated the 1st February 1907, wrote :

‘They fully appreciate the difficulties which Government have experienced in providing and financing the large reserves of silver which it has been found necessary to hold in anticipation of fresh coinage ; and they instruct me to suggest the desirability of adopting measures to secure a larger use of gold in the currency circulation. An increased use of gold coins as currency would, in their opinion, tend to reduce the quantity of silver bullion or ingot reserves which need be held and would also minimise the difficulties connected with the provision thereof.’

“The Government of India were satisfied with this representation, and in their letter dated the 4th May 1907, in reply to the Chamber of Commerce, said :

‘The question raised by the first of these proposals (namely, the more extensive circulation of gold) is one to which your Committee rightly attach the highest importance. The Government of India have never concealed from themselves the inconvenience attending a gold standard which is not accompanied by an effective gold circulation, and they are in full accord with the view that a more general use of gold among the people would simplify the task of directing a managed currency.’

“The Hon’ble Mr. Webb, the Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, in his very able memorandum on the Indian currency, has clearly shown the disadvantages of the State management of the currency and has given very instructive facts and figures in support of the gold currency. From these it will be seen that the expert Committees and the Commissions, the Secretary of State, the Government of India and the commercial communities have all been unanimous in their opinion that the introduction of gold currency is the only solution of the difficulties that are inseparable from the present State-managed gold standard system.

“My Lord, events that have happened within the last twelve months confirm me in the view which I took last year of the urgent need of throwing open the mints to the free coinage of gold. Indeed, every day that passes involves a loss to this country and adds to the difficulties in the way of the introduction of a gold currency. That is why I have ventured to bring forward this Resolution. We have now a favourable opportunity, and if we take advantage of it, our success is assured. We are getting in the Government Treasury more gold than we can conveniently hold. Practically the whole of our gold standard reserve is either in gold or invested in gold securities. We hold in gold as much even of our reserves against the paper currency as can be held in gold consistently with our liability to meet our obligations to pay silver coins in exchange for currency notes, and the reserve of silver coins has reached such a low level, only 14 crores of rupees against 47 crores mentioned



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by the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson the other day, that unless we make provision for gold coinage, more silver coins shall have to be minted at an early date. Since 1907 no new additions have been made to the country's rupee currency, and the demands during the last five years of the expanding trade of the country have been, undoubtedly met partly by the circulation of gold coins, thus rendering it possible to do without coining more rupees. Unless Government facilitate the reception of gold coins by the public by some such measure as those suggested in my Resolution, they will have to coin rupees as the only means of meeting the demand for metallic currency. This view is supported by the remarks of my friend the Hon'ble the Finance Member in his speech on the Financial Statement for 1912-13. The Hon'ble Member said :—

'The adverse balance of trade in 1908 has forced us to draw on our Gold Standard Reserve in defence of exchange; and against the gold thus released we had received and withdrawn from circulation in India the enormous quantity of 120 million rupees. Mainly through this cause our rupee reserves at the beginning of 1909-10 were enormously strong; between our currency chests and the silver branch of the Gold Standard Reserve we had altogether 47 crores at our command, and in the strength of that accumulation we have been meeting all demands upon us ever since. The absorption of rupees in the intervening three years has been about 32 crores; and by whatever test the figures are tried, it is clear that the demand has been less active than in the earlier years of the century, when the resources of our mints were severely strained to meet the calls of trade for silver currency.'

"These are the remarks of the Hon'ble Member."

"The absorption of 32 crores of rupees in three years gives an average of about 11 crores per year. When we consider the absorption of rupees in years previous to 1907, we come to the conclusion that 11 crores is not a high figure. From 1900 to 1907 the net addition of rupees to our currency was 84½ crores of rupees, giving an annual average absorption of about 10½ crores of rupees.

"Against 47 crores of rupees at the command of Government in 1909, we have only 17 crores at the present moment—14 crores in the currency chest and 3 crores in the Gold Standard Reserve. The circulation of our currency notes amounts to over 55 crores of rupees, and I am sure my friend the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson will agree with me when I say that the amount of 17 crores of rupees is by no means larger than the minimum necessary to enable Government to meet its obligation of paying rupees on presentation of currency notes. If this is the present position, may I ask the Hon'ble Member how he proposes to meet the future demand of metallic currency except by coining new rupees, unless my Resolution is accepted, and our mints are thrown open to the free coinage of gold? If you coin more rupees, you will be thereby making it still more difficult than it is to introduce gold currency which is the goal we have in view. If, on the other hand, you throw open the mint to the free coinage of gold, I feel sure that in the present circumstances the country will avail itself of the right very freely and thus reduce, if not prevent, the necessity for coining more token rupees. There is a further argument why we should try to avoid as much as possible any unnecessary addition to our rupee currency. In dealing with the question of high prices, my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale pointed out to this Council four years ago, how the unusually high additions to our total silver coinage during the three years 1905—07 must have had a considerable share in sending up the general level of prices. I am inclined to agree with my friend that a sudden inflation of the country's currency has a tendency in that direction, and I hope that he will in connection with this Resolution develop this part of the argument. Let me make myself clear on one point. I do not suggest that Government should give up the right to coin rupees or refuse to give rupees when people demand the same. I do not propose to touch the gold standard reserve which must remain as it is as the ultimate guarantee of our currency policy. My proposal does not interfere with the existing arrangements in any way but is merely supplementary to them. I made this perfectly clear last year; nevertheless some of my critics have urged against my proposal that Government is asked to part with their reserve of gold, that the gold will disappear into the hoards of the people, and that Government will have difficulty in maintaining the gold standard without raising a gold loan; there is not the

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least basis for these fears. Let the Government of India accumulate gold to the maximum limit of its capacity, but let the surplus gold which it cannot absorb be coined and circulated if the public chooses to do so. With our expanding trade and the balance in our favour, gold will continue to be imported in ordinary time, and if the facilities of minting are provided in India, it will go into circulation.

"The only plausible argument advanced against the proposal is that the Indian people are too poor for a gold currency. I cannot understand this argument, because if the people are rich enough for a gold standard they cannot be too poor for its normal adjunct, a gold currency. As things are, they have all the disadvantages of a gold system without its advantages. Then, again, I do not propose to demonetise silver, and silver coins will be available, if my suggestion is carried out, as they are now, and whoever requires them will get them as at present.

"Then, again, it is asked, why should there be gold coining in India when whoever may require gold coins may import English sovereigns? Why does Australia coin her own gold? It is quite open to her to import sovereigns. Again, why do all other civilised countries of the world have their own gold coins? So far as India is concerned, it is to her advantage to a greater extent than to many of the other countries. We produce in India 3 million pounds worth of gold from our mines. It is anomalous that this gold should be exported to London to be minted there and sovereigns should be imported into this country. Why should we not coin our own gold if there is demand for it instead of bearing the charges of carriage both ways and suffering the loss of interest on capital during the time occupied in the double transit? The last but not the least of all the advantages of having our own gold coins will be that there will be less of State management in our currency. The trade will be financed automatically by the import and export of gold, as the case may be, just as the commerce of all other countries is financed. India is the only great country in the world, barring China, the management of whose currency is completely in the hands of Government. However well-managed it may be, it can never be as good as an automatic currency which adjusts itself to public demands. After the mints are opened to the free coinage of gold, all that the State will have to do is to pay rupees in exchange for gold coin when such demand arises. All countries, including England, have to pay silver subsidiary coins in exchange for gold coins when they are required for the use of the country. This step will prevent, or in any case reduce, the addition to our existing silver coins, and that will be a great gain.

"As to the denomination of that coin, I prefer a ten-rupee gold coin for various reasons mentioned in my last year's speech. I know that there is a great deal to be said in favour of minting sovereigns in India on the ground that they will be interchangeable with Great Britain, and they can be imported and exported as the balance of trade necessitates. Of course, if the Indian mints could be thrown open to the unrestricted coinage of gold on terms and conditions such as govern the three Australian branches of the Royal Mint, I have no objection to sovereigns being coined in India. A subsidiary ten-rupee gold coin of Indian design might be minted as a supplementary coin, but if the Royal Mint raises any difficulties to recognising our mints as their branches, we should have a ten-rupee coin and not a fifteen-rupee coin. After all it is a matter of detail, and I leave it to Government to fix a suitable denomination.

"I am sorry I have troubled the Council with this long speech. This Resolution after all asks for no more than what the Fowler Committee recommended and what had received the sanction of Lord Curzon's Government and the then Secretary of State.

"The adoption of the step which I have ventured to urge in this Resolution as in my speech last year will, to use the forcible words of Sir James Meston, 'obliterate all the mistakes, all the inconveniences, all the artificialities, of our present position.' My Lord, I believe that the time is come for taking this final step in the long evolution of our currency system."



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[Mr. Dadabhoy.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy: "My Lord, I beg to support the motion. Circumstanced as we are to-day, I vote for a limited gold currency such as is contemplated in this Resolution. I confess, in spite of the effect the currency measures of Government have had in steadying sterling exchange about the point which the legislation of 1893 had in view, I still incline to the view that it has not been an unmixed good to us, that a silver standard with a silver currency, such as we had early in the nineties of the last century, was beneficial to the country, and, further, that the financial difficulties of a falling exchange could have been minimised by a more equitable adjustment of our financial relations with England. But it is an opinion, supported though it was and is by high authorities, which counts for little in the realities of the present situation. For good or for evil, the Government have adopted a gold standard, and the success from their point of view of the operations has been so great as to dissolve all hopes of a reversal of the present currency policy. It is wise therefore to accept the inevitable, and to help the development of a sound scheme of gold currency for the country. Besides, the mighty changes in the Far East might also ultimately result in a further demonetisation of silver there. In such a contingency—likely enough with an awakened and reformed China—it would be idle for India alone to think of maintaining a silver standard with a silver currency. And the ultimate adoption of a gold standard by China would deprive India of all the advantage of the former unrestricted coinage of silver in her mints. Further, the scheme of currency which has been adopted by Government finds its natural development in a gold currency for India. These considerations influence my action to-day, and I support my friend Sir Vithaldas Thackersey's Resolution.

"The scheme which he proposes and which he has ably explained to Hon'ble Members, is a natural development of the currency policy of the Government. We have so long striven to maintain by artificial supports the convertibility of the rupee into sterling currency at 1s. 4d. Sir Vithaldas now suggests a step beyond that. He desires to have some of the artificialities removed and to support the gold standard we have adopted with a limited gold currency. This is undoubtedly a much more natural, effective and harmless course, and its merit will impress all.

"My Lord, Government has not taken seriously to the idea of a gold currency apparently for two reasons—(1) the danger arising from the hoarding habits of the people, and (2) the heavy expense of a gold currency. Sir David Barbour, in his minute of 21st June 1892, made a point of the first. The Herschell Committee and the Fowler Committee could not recommend the immediate introduction of a complete gold currency for similar reasons. The idea of the impracticability of an Indian gold currency was in fact general. The *Bombay Gazette*, in 1898, observed :

'The difficulties in the way of establishing a gold coinage in India may, for all practical purposes, be regarded as insuperable. Notwithstanding the supplies from the Rand and the potentialities of Klondyke, the gold available for monetary purposes is not equal to the demand.'

"The currency policy of the Government has all through been shaped with a view to avoid the danger noted by Sir David Barbour and recognised by almost all financial authorities. But that danger is, in view of the changed habits of the people, exaggerated. The Finance Minister, in his introductory speech of 1st March current, on the strength of the Comptroller General Mr. Gillan's report on the Paper Currency Department, opines that the people are shaking off their fondness for metallic money and their habit of hoarding, and are taking kindly to paper currency. He points with legitimate satisfaction to the freer use of notes by the people :

'In March 1909 the volume of the note circulation was 45½ crores. In August 1911 it overtopped 60 crores, and it is now rarely under 55 crores.'

"[And then, referring to the heavy imports of gold, he observes :

'I am convinced that these masses of imported sovereigns will not disappear into hoards or the melting pot; and that, as the people become more familiar with them, their use as

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[Mr. Dadabhai; Mr. Mudholkar.]

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genuine currency will very largely extend. The habit will probably come with a rush, as other changes have come in India.

“Again :

‘If the free circulation of gold is not so much nearer as some of us would wish, it is certainly no further off.’

“The statements of the Hon’ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson are necessarily cautious, but they testify unmistakably to a wholesome change in popular habits which makes the danger of the introduction of a gold currency less acute.

“The expense of a complete system of gold currency will undoubtedly be enormous. The public have no basis of calculation on such a technical subject, and we have no official estimate of the cost before us to justify an expression of our opinion. The total rupee circulation, according to the estimate of Mr. F. C. Harrison, is 120 crores. But that was several years ago, and there have been additions and withdrawals in the interval. In any view, to replace the silver currency with gold is obviously an ambitious project, and however desirable the consummation might be, I would not support such a proposal, especially in the absence of more definite data and a detailed estimate of the cost. But Sir Vitthaladas suggests for adoption a much more modest and feasible course. Hon’ble Members will be pleased to note that he does not recommend the *substitution* of the silver currency with a gold currency. He distinctly says he does not want to demonetise silver. In his scheme silver coins will be available as at present. He does not seek to disturb the existing currency arrangements of Government, and the rupee will remain convertible into the sovereign at an exchange of 1s. 4d. as heretofore. The Gold Standard Reserve will not be touched. The fear expressed by Mr. Robert Hardie and other experts before the Currency Committee that with a gold currency India would be exceptionally liable to a heavy drain of gold abroad, because her foreign indebtedness was excessively heavy, would be groundless in the suggested arrangement. The only important change my friend proposes is that people should be free to have private gold coined at their convenience at the Mints, and that the gold which Government does not require for the Gold Standard Reserve may be minted and put into circulation. This course is the least inconvenient conceivable. The gold of the public which is thus coined will flow into circulation, and not be locked up in hoards. The gold currency which will thus be created will be supplementary to the silver currency, and will to some extent ease the stringency of the market. Moreover, there is no reason why the three million pounds worth of gold produced annually in India should leave her shores for being converted into sovereigns. The Indian mints could surely do the work with advantage.

“About this time last year the Hon’ble Finance Minister very properly condemned silver speculation; in his Financial Statement this year he has referred to the discomfiture of the speculators with evident satisfaction. Naturally he is nervous about the effect of the operations of the bulls upon the transactions of Government. I do not blame him for that. On the contrary, we are all glad he is so watchful. This is a commendable attitude in the Finance Minister. But, instead of depending upon uncertain circumstances for an avoidance of the difficulties created by silver speculations, I humbly submit it will be far more satisfactory for Government to discourage such speculation by the introduction of a gold currency on the lines suggested by the Hon’ble Sir Vitthaladas. That is an additional and cogent reason why the Resolution should be adopted.

“The only difficulty I apprehend is about the unpopularity of a gold coin of small size. Sovereigns would be decidedly preferable. But Sir Vitthaladas rightly leaves the question of the denomination of the coin in the hands of Government.

“I support the Resolution.”

The Hon’ble Mr. Mudholkar: “My Lord, I also rise to accord my support to the Resolution moved by Sir Vitthaladas D. Thackersay. To those who are acquainted with the currency controversies of the nineties it would appear



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curious that the demand for a gold coinage for India should come from Indian members. But there is nothing extraordinary in the position now taken up by them. This Resolution and the other which is to follow it are the necessary and logical outcome of the policy inaugurated in 1893 and developed and carried out in 1899. We are not concerned with discussing the propriety of the great change effected then in our currency system. We are concerned only with the outstanding fact that in view of the decline of the price of silver which began in the early part of the seventies, and under which the price of the rupee went down to nearly 13 pence the Government, anxious to secure stability of exchange, first closed our mints to the free coinage of silver and six years later established the Indian currency on a gold standard basis by fixing a statutory value of 16 pence for the rupee. The token value of the rupee is thus about 33 per cent. more than its intrinsic value. Whatever its effect on the value of the silver savings of the people in the burden of debts and taxes and on Indian industries and exports, a revolution has been effected in our currency. Our chief circulating medium, the rupee, is a token coin and nothing more. The question arises, is this a desirable state of things? If our currency system is based on a gold standard, the only logical and safe course to adopt is to have gold coins and to provide for the coinage of gold. Under the new system the English sovereign is legal tender, but there is no provision for the coinage of gold in Indian mints. This state of things is certainly not in accordance with the views and objects under which the policy of 1899 was adopted. Sir Clinton Dawkins, Finance Member of the Government of India, in explaining the position of the Government in the Financial Statement for 1900-01, stated:

‘It has been decided to constitute a branch of the Royal Mint at the Bombay Mint for the coinage of gold. The terms of the proclamation to be issued under the Imperial Coinage Act have been settled, and we are merely waiting now until the Royal Mint has satisfied itself as regards the Mint premises and appliances in Bombay. A representative of the Royal Mint is starting this week for Bombay to report. The gold from the Mysore mines is indeed already reaching us in anticipation of coinage, and we count upon receiving an annual increment to our stock of gold of from 1½ to 2 millions from this source.’

‘It is thus clear what the real scope of the policy adopted in 1899 was. Why the action which had been decided upon was abandoned we do not know. The immediate establishment of a complete system of gold currency sufficient to meet the demands of the country was not thought practicable then or can be considered so now. But, as our currency is based on a gold standard, the obvious course would seem to be to provide for the coinage of gold. I should not be under stood as advocating a diversion of the gold standard reserve to this purpose. Why a portion of it may not be so applied is a matter worthy of consideration; but that is not necessary to be discussed just now. What is to be borne in mind is, that a beginning in the coining of gold is necessary and the Government might well accept the very cautious suggestion made by the Hon’ble Sir Vithaldas. Sir James Meston, in his speech delivered on the 27th of March last year, advanced some arguments in support of the Government’s policy of keeping the gold standard reserve in London.’

‘What we do is to maintain the value of the rupee by keeping the gold where gold is most wanted and is likely to be most useful to us. Now’ (I would ask the Council to mark these words) ‘if gold were effectively wanted in India, that is, if India could keep gold in circulation and export gold privately in large quantity when exchange threatens to fall, then in those circumstances our duty would be accomplished and our task would be lightened. But we know that these circumstances do not obtain. We have not yet a substantial gold circulation in India.’

‘Now, my Lord, is it the fault of the country that there is not any substantial circulation of gold coins in India? It cannot be disputed that when there is any considerable amount required for payment or transport, gold is often preferred to silver. My Lord, there is one very important consideration which demands the action now suggested. If the stability of exchange justified the adoption of the new system, the necessity for a stability of the value of the rupee in relation to other commodities demands that the gold basis and gold standard should be more than a name. When the mints were opened to the

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free coinage of silver there was a self-adjusting process automatically as it were regulating the number of rupees in circulation. But what has been the policy since 1893 ? In the decade ending with 1884, the value of new rupees coined was annually about six crores. In the nine years following it was 8·3 crores. Between 1900—1908 over a hundred crores were coined, the average for the first five years being 8·3 and for the last three years 20·7. Such fluctuations in the currency must necessarily produce fluctuations in prices. The situation is complicated by the fact that the token value of the rupee has no relation to the value of the metal. The existence of a gold currency would certainly obviate fluctuations or uncertainties.

“The merit of the proposal is that it does not lay any claim to originality. It only asks the Government to take the action which was resolved upon in 1900.”

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale :** “My Lord, I beg to support this Resolution. My Hon'ble friend Sir Vithaldas Thackersey has referred to certain remarks which I had made on this subject in this Council a few years ago, and he has invited me to-day to develop my view still further. I do not know that there is much to develop, but I will briefly state what I think of one aspect—an important aspect—of the matter. In dealing with the question of high prices in 1908-1909 I had to give some thought to this question of the coinage of rupees, and this was how I expressed my views on the occasion :

‘It seems to me that the only way now out of our difficulties is to follow the example of France and the United States, and while admitting the rupee to unlimited tender, stop the coinage of new rupees and coin gold pieces instead. Of course I express this opinion with great diffidence, for there are serious considerations on the other side and the whole subject is enveloped in great obscurity. But I fear that the present half-way house will not do, and unless we place our currency on an automatic and self-adjusting basis, the clouds that are already overhead will thicken and not roll away.’

“The clouds that I specially referred to were clouds of high prices and also of certain apprehensions in connexion with the adequacy or otherwise of our gold standard reserve to maintain the level of exchange. My Lord, so far as the question of prices is concerned, that is a matter which is under some sort of inquiry at present, and I do not therefore want to go into it at any length. The fact that there were no additions made during the last three years to our total silver currency has undoubtedly tended to ease the situation as regards prices. But if we are again on the eve of large additions to our silver currency, I fear the question will be further complicated and the complications might possibly grow most serious. The view that I take of this matter is briefly this. The quantitative theory of money, as every student of political economy knows, holds good in the case of backward countries like India much more than in the case of advanced countries which have a highly developed system of credit instruments. Now, in that view of things, prices are a function, to use a mathematical phrase, of three variables ; they depend upon three factors—the volume of currency, the supply of commodities, and the demand for commodities. Any two factors being the same, they vary with the third factor, either directly or inversely, as the relation may be. For instance, they vary directly with the volume of currency ; they also vary directly with the demand for commodities ; and they vary inversely with the supply of commodities. Now, assuming for the moment that the demand and supply continue normal, prices will vary according to the volume of currency. Of course it takes a fairly long period for these adjustments to take place, but I am stating only the tendency of things. Whether the total volume of currency that exists in circulation at any particular moment is adequate or otherwise depends upon a number of considerations, and the demands of new industrial developments in the country increases in production, increased facilities for exchange and various other factors of that kind. But I am not going into that just now ; I am simply considering the single phenomenon of prices in relation to the volume of currency, leaving everything else out as normal. Now, what is the difference if you have an automatic self-adjusting currency such as we may have with gold or we had with silver before the year 1893, and



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the kind of artificial currency that we have at present? Situated as India is, you will always require, to meet the demands of trade, the coinage of a certain number of gold or silver pieces, as the case may be, during the export season, that is for six months in the year. When the export season is brisk money has to be sent into the interior to purchase commodities. That is a factor common to both situations whether you have an artificial automatic gold currency as now or a silver currency. But the difference is this. During the remaining six months of the slack season there is undoubtedly experienced a redundancy of currency, and under a self-adjusting automatic system there are three outlets for this redundancy to work itself off. The coins that are superfluous may either come back to the banks and to the coffers of Government; or they may be exported, or they may be melted by people for purposes of consumption for other wants. But where you have no self-adjusting and automatic currency where the coin is an artificial token of currency such as our rupee is at the present moment, two out of three of these outlets are stopped. You cannot export the rupee, without heavy loss, you cannot melt the rupee without heavy loss, and consequently the extra coins must return to the banks and the coffers of Government, or they must be absorbed by the people. In the latter case, the situation is like that of a soil which is water-logged, which has no efficient drainage, and the moisture from which cannot be removed. In this country the facilities for banking are very inadequate, and therefore our money does not swiftly flow back to the banks or Government treasuries. Consequently the extra money that is sent in to the interior often gathers here and there like pools of water, turning the whole soil into a marsh. I believe the fact cannot be gainsaid that the stopping of two outlets out of three tends to raise prices by making the volume of currency redundant. If we had a gold currency in place of the present artificial silver currency, when there is a redundancy, the people could re-melt gold coins into bullion or export gold coins, without loss; but the rupee being what it is the people cannot melt or export it, because of the difference between its token and intrinsic values, and every rupee coined remains as a net addition to the currency. It has been estimated that an average of about three crores of rupees used to be melted annually by the people under the old system for purposes of ornaments, etc. Where the cost of carrying bullion from the ports into the interior exceeded the slight loss that was incurred by melting rupees people, melted rupees. And the present disability will remain as long as our currency remains artificial. As a matter of fact, those who suggested that our currency should be placed on its present basis had foreseen this, and they had recommended that the present should only be a temporary arrangement. The Fowler Committee and other authorities have advocated a gold standard and a gold currency, not a silver currency, as the permanent arrangement for this country. The time has come when we should consider whether we should not enter on the next stage of our currency policy and go in for the coinage of gold pieces, admitting silver, however, for the present to unlimited legal tender. But a time must come when silver will have to be restricted in amount as legal tender, and gold will then have to be the principal coin of the country. My Lord, I support this Resolution.

**The Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson :** Sir Vithaldas has dealt with consummate ability with a question of first class importance. I am quite sure that his speech has been listened to by every one in the Council, as it certainly has been listened to by me, with the very greatest interest.

"Both in regard to this Resolution and the second Resolution which stands in his name, Sir Vithaldas, it will be realised, has a great advantage over me. He does not speak in the name of a Government; he does not speak even in the name of any large financial corporation. He may be voicing the opinion of many others, but he speaks for himself and for himself alone. This of course enables him to speak with absolute freedom and without any reserve.

"My own position is the exact opposite. On all financial questions, but more especially on the two questions which the Hon'ble Member has raised, I can

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only speak as a member of the Government of India, and I have naturally, and quite properly, to speak with considerable reserve, as I have to consider, not only the opinion and responsibility of the Government of India as a whole, but also the responsibility of the Secretary of State in Council.

"I mention this because I think the point is sometimes lost sight of and it is not always remembered that if a Finance Minister speaks with considerable caution and is not so ready to pledge himself as some people would wish, his attitude is influenced not by any desire to escape responsibility and certainly not from any disinclination to be absolutely frank with this Council, but by a proper consciousness that he is neither empowered nor entitled to speak with absolute freedom.

"My Hon'ble friend Sir Vithaldas Thackersey has given the Council a most interesting speech on a subject which he has made particularly his own. The Resolution which he has moved is intended, I take it, partly to focus the discussions on this important subject, and partly to jog the memory of Government. I wish to assure him at the outset that the matter has been constantly in our thoughts since I gave him my promise a year ago to renew the consideration of the scheme which Sir Vithaldas pressed with his usual ability and moderation upon the Government of India.

"The interval which has elapsed since the question of coining gold was last before this Council has not been time lost. The ball which Sir Vithaldas set rolling has been in vigorous play throughout the year. No subject of a purely financial character has, in my time, attracted so much attention or so much skilled criticism. It has been thoroughly ventilated in the public Press, both in England and in India; the views of all classes interested in the subject have been received by Government; and every phase of it has been examined in full and free informal discussion. What I propose to do to-day, in answering my Hon'ble friend, is to review as briefly as possible the opinions that we have collected; to examine the main arguments for and against the coinage of gold; and to remove some of the misconceptions which have grown up round the subject. As at present situated I cannot do more, for we have still to obtain the opinions and the orders of our final authority, the Secretary of State; but I am sure that, in their responsible task of deciding the issues which we are placing before them, the Secretary of State for India and his advisers will be greatly helped by the proceedings of to-day. The proposal which my Hon'ble friend wishes us to revive is that which the Indian Currency Commission of 1898 recommended as part of the machinery for the maintenance of our gold standard. I need not quote the precise words of the Committee. They will be found in paragraph 54 of the report and are familiar to all students of the subject. The proposal in brief was that the Indian mints should be thrown open to the unrestricted coinage of gold on terms and conditions such as govern the three Australian branches of the Royal Mint. This proposal was cordially accepted by the Government of India and, as Sir Vithaldas reminded us a year ago, steps were taken to give effect to it. Our preparations, however, came to an end somewhat suddenly in 1902. There had been much discussion on technical details; and while time was passing, the agents for the Kolar Gold Mines had concluded arrangements for the disposal of their gold in England. The Government of the day were doubtful whether it was prudent to pursue the scheme in the absence of any steady supply of local gold; and the treasury at Home were disposed to advise against it in the belief that India would obtain all the gold it required through the ordinary channels of import. The question was thus laid aside in 1902. No definite reasons were given at the time so far as I can ascertain; but the reasons were those which I have now briefly described, and no other.

"During the last ten years, spasmodic suggestions had been made for reviving the proposal; but it was not until my friend's Resolution of last year that the Government of India were formally moved to review the situation and consider the propriety of reverting to the policy recommended by Sir Henry Fowler's Committee. When we went thoroughly into the subject, as I promised Sir Vithaldas that we should do, it seemed to us that there had been such



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a change of conditions as would fully justify us in reviving the question, and not in treating it as a subject which had been laid aside for good in 1902.

"Hon'ble gentlemen will pardon me for not following them into the difficult and very large question of the redundant rupee and the influence of currency on prices. It is true that we get no gold of Indian production, simply because we can do nothing with it if it is offered to us. It is also true that sovereigns still come in freely by trade channels when the balance of international exchange is in our favour. But in other respects the position has altered greatly in the last decade. Our currency system has been through the fiery trial of 1907-1908, and the need for strengthening our gold holdings has been brought home to us. Also, to the mind of many observers, what I may call the currency habits of the people seem to be changing. Gold is being more freely taken in payment for agricultural produce. There may be no striking increase in the active circulation of gold, but it is certainly becoming more familiar and is being more readily accepted. Rupees, as many believe, are being replaced by gold in hoards. Our note circulation is also making great strides. Its rapid increase, specially since the notes of the lower denominations were made universal, goes far to indicate that the people of this country are ready for a handier form of currency than silver and for a higher unit than the rupee. All these changes in India justify us in considering once again whether we should not embark on the coinage of gold. What particular coin we should manufacture is perhaps a matter of detail rather than of principle; some authorities would like to see a distinctive Indian coin, like the gold mohur or pagoda; others regard this suggestion as an antiquarian rather than of practical value, and would like to see the Indian sovereign or a ten-rupee gold piece; others again would be content if our mints were empowered to manufacture the ordinary sovereigns with which we are all familiar. I think myself that the balance of advantage lies in the third course; it gives us the coin which my esteemed friend, Sir Shapurji Broacha, has so happily described as the cement of the empire; and it simplifies immensely the issue of our gold in international trade. For the purpose of discussion then, I assume that we shall, at the outset at least, coin sovereigns if we are allowed to coin gold at all. The proposal before us is thus in its simplest form, that one of our Indian mints should be opened to the free coinage of the sovereign on terms and conditions similar to those which control the mints in Australia and Canada.

"Now, since the debate of last year, this proposal, simple though it is, has been subjected to considerable misrepresentations. It has been suggested, for example, that the scheme contemplates a large loan by us for the purchase of gold; that we should force gold upon an unwilling people on an enormous scale; and that we should thereby produce, as I think we should certainly do, a serious fall in the value of silver and considerable hardship to the poorer classes in India. It is also suggested that, between buying gold and paying interest on our coinage loans, we should be throwing away large sums of money which are required for education, and for the extension of railways and irrigation. Taxation would be multiplied; the gold would disappear as soon as we coined it; and our exchange position would be as bad as ever. The Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas has repudiated this description of his proposal with some warmth, and I entirely sympathise with him. No such proposal was ever dreamt of by any sane and responsible man in this country. There has never been any intention of borrowing or of buying gold, or of forcing it upon the people or of coining a single sovereign except from bullion which is brought to us voluntarily for the purpose. The proposal, which I have already described as simple and unambiguous, is merely to open a gold mint on a small scale with a gold refinery attached to it, so that we may be able to handle either raw gold from the mines, or ornaments and other alloys that may be offered to us.

"This being the proposal which Sir Vithaldas had, I think, in mind, and which was also in my mind when I promised to consider it, let us examine the arguments of honest critics for and against it. I take first the arguments against it. They are numerous; but I think they may be suitably

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classified into three sets of objections, namely, that a gold coinage is unnecessary; that it would be ineffective in support of exchange; and that it would be wasteful or even harmful. The first of these objections is the argument that gold already comes in freely from Australia, Egypt and elsewhere, and that there is no necessity for adding to it in this country. Support is given to this objection by the very large accumulation of sovereigns which have grown up in our currency reserve during the last year and a half of busy trade. It is also argued that with a sufficiently strong gold reserve in London and a sufficiently strong silver reserve in India, we could get along without a visible gold currency at all. This view is taken by many who believe that the scheme known as the Lindsay scheme, after the late Mr. A. M. Lindsay, the distinguished economist and banker of Calcutta, is the solution for all currency difficulties in a silver-using country. I think that these objections merit the most careful consideration. I do not say that they are insuperable. But they are reasonable and have the weight of high authority behind them.

"The second set of objections is based upon the view that a gold coinage would have no influence in supporting exchange for the simple reason that, at a time of crisis, the sovereign would disappear. It would stand at a high premium, and there will be no persuading the people to release their hoardings of it for the purposes of export. Until the sovereign becomes much more familiar and enters much more largely into active circulation, I think this objection is, largely true. The question is whether it is advisable to take means to increase the circulation in order to prevent the wholesale disappearance of the sovereign when exchange shows signs of weakness.

"The third and most uncompromising group of objections to our gold currency comes from those who consider that the minting of gold in India would be wasteful, expensive and harmful. Many competent observers consider that it would be wasteful because our new sovereigns would be melted or would disappear into hoards as soon as they are issued. I do not think my Hon'ble friend shares that view, and I believe that experience alone will prove its truth or its falsehood. I would only remark that the hoarding and the melting of rupees was a constant trouble in the days when our mints were open to silver. And I personally believe that, if sovereigns can be made to replace silver or ornaments in the hoards of the people, we shall have advanced a decided step in the direction not only of greater prosperity but of greater stability in our exchange affairs. Some of our other critics, however, urge that the sovereign is an expensive coin, because we get no profits from it, such as we do from the rupee, and because we should have to bear the loss of wear and tear. To this objection I cannot attach very much importance, knowing, as I do know, the comparatively small cost at which the gold currency of the United Kingdom was rehabilitated by the late Lord Goschen. The last argument in this group to which I need refer is the suggestion that our gold coinage would draw off a larger quantity of gold from the European markets than India obtains at present, and that consequently business and trade would suffer in the gold-using countries. This argument I must admit to be one of the most serious in the whole controversy; because, if it is true, it sets the whole of the interests of the gold-using countries against our proposal. It is a matter on which various opinions may honestly be held whether the opening of the mint to gold would in practice have the effect of enlarging our gold imports. It would certainly have the effect of bringing in a larger quantity of bullion and a smaller quantity of sovereigns if there were a marginal profit on the former; but would it have the effect of increasing the aggregate quantity of gold of all sorts which comes in to adjust the balance of trade?

"I have now stated with perfect frankness the arguments against the gold coinage for India. The arguments for such a coinage are in my Hon'ble friend's mind, and some of them have been skilfully displayed in his opening speech. As I understand the position, he believes that the coinage of gold would enable large quantities of bullion which are now in the country to be converted into legal tender. He believes that, with greater familiarity, the sovereigns would pass more freely into active circulation. He hopes and I also



For pages 577—591 of Part VI of the *Gazette of India*, dated 6th April 1912, please substitute the attached pages 577—592.

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sincerely hope, that, if this consummation is reached, it would diminish the pressure upon us for the coinage of fresh rupees and simplify our exchange difficulties. These in their turn are weighty considerations and they are considerations which affect the practical outlook of the business man, who does not delude himself into the idea that the mere opening of the mints to gold would immediately provide a door for the export of superfluous currency in the form of sovereigns when exchange goes against us. I do not myself see any near prospects of that measure of assistance; but I readily admit that the coinage of gold, if it leads to a substantial and growing increase of the active circulation, will carry us some way in that direction, and consequently in the direction of greater security and of greater stability.

"I have now, as I undertook to do, laid before the Council the pros and cons of this important and attractive subject. As I explained, I can at the moment do no more; because the whole question, with the views of the Government of India upon it, awaits the final decision of the Secretary of State.

"If his decision should meet the wishes of my Hon'ble friend, no one will be more gratified than the present Finance Minister."

**The Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas Thackersey:** "My Lord, I must recognize that the reply of the Hon'ble Finance Member is very satisfactory; and I may say that he has said more in support, he has brought forward more cogent arguments in support, of opening the mints to the free coining of gold, than I was able to do in my opening speech. I am perfectly satisfied with his assurance that he is doing his best to get the sanction of the Secretary of State, and therefore, with Your Lordship's permission, I beg to withdraw my motion for the present."

**His Excellency the President:** "The Resolution is by permission withdrawn."

## GOLD STANDARD RESERVE.

**The Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas Thackersey** then moved the further Resolution:

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that a substantial portion of the Gold Standard Reserve be held in gold in India."

He said:

"My Lord, this question has been threshed out so often in the past that I will not attempt to weary the Council with any lengthy remarks on this subject. All the Chambers of Commerce have times out of number demanded that our Gold Standard Reserve should be held in gold in India. They have more than once pointed out the danger of either diverting any amount of this to any other purpose, or to investing it permanently in gold securities. They have further pointed out that, in case of panic or war, the gold may not be available to us when we badly want it, and in that case it might be difficult, if not absolutely impossible, for India to maintain a Gold Standard. In these days, when the sensitiveness of the money market has become proverbial, it is easily conceivable how great will be the loss that the people of this country would suffer, and to what great extent the prestige of Government would be lessened, if there was the slightest reason to doubt that the gold in the Gold Standard Reserve may not be readily available to maintain the exchange. All the labour of years in creating confidence in the outside world will be lost in a second. And for what purpose is all this risk incurred? My friend the Hon'ble Sir James Meston, who has always proved himself a capable and sound financier, and whose elevation to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the United Provinces is a matter of deep gratification to all of us, presented last year to this Council what he called the other side of the shield. He said that gold was located in London to simplify the duty of the Government of India in maintaining the gold value of the



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rupee, as when required to support our exchanges it would be immediately available. It had been mentioned, moreover, in the reply from the Government of India to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce in May 1907 that holding liquid gold in India would entail loss of interest which we at present earn by investment in gold securities. I will, therefore, with your Lordship's permission, deal also with this argument. The reply to the first argument is that the location of gold in India will not at all make the duty of the Government of India any more difficult in maintaining the gold value of the rupee. The call on this reserve is made only when it is required for export, and it will be as easy for the Government of India to deliver gold in India to those who want it in exchange for rupees as it is easy for the Secretary of State to deliver gold in London. If gold is required by the Secretary of State when he cannot sell Council Bills, it can be exported almost immediately. As to the second argument about earning interest, I need only repeat what has been so often and so unanimously said by all the Chambers of Commerce in India and by others who can speak with authority on this subject, that Government are taking a very great risk by this procedure. So long as things move smoothly and no storm breaks, this kind of investment may bring us some income; but it must not be forgotten, as the Bombay Chamber of Commerce wrote to Government in 1907, that the Gold Standard Reserve is being maintained for the sake of serious emergencies, and that, should such emergencies arise, it might very easily happen that it will be extremely difficult to realise rapidly the securities in England. Indeed, the state of the money market brought about by the very emergency would probably be considerably aggravated if it entailed the realising of a large quantity of British securities, whereas if the reserve was a metallic one the position could be at once relieved. My Lord, India is not the only country which has to maintain a metallic reserve of gold. The United States Treasury has the largest stock of gold held by any country in the world. On 31st December 1910, it amounted to over 233 millions sterling—over eleven times our Gold Standard Reserve. Does the United States Government invest it in gilt-edged securities? In the same way France and Russia have large Gold Reserves—certainly many times more than our reserve. Why do they not invest them? They rightly realise that their credit and honour and existence stand upon the Gold Reserve and they know that it may be required at any time in an emergency. I wish to speak with great respect of the Secretary of State's advisers. They are eminent and honourable men, but it is only necessary to mention the positions they occupy in the world of London finance to show that, human nature being what it is, they cannot be expected to be wholly free from a certain bias. Lord Inchcape is a Director of the National Provincial Bank of England—a very powerful Bank. Sir Felix Schuster, Baronet, is a Director of the German Bank of London, Limited, and also a Governor of the Union of London and Smith's Bank, Limited. Mr. Lawrence Currie is a managing partner in Glyn, Mills and Currie, Limited—a large and powerful private banking house. All these institutions are on the list of approved bankers and private individuals with whom according to the Hon'ble Finance Member all our cash balance is invested in London. Are the financiers of this Government less alert than the Secretary of State's advisers? But, my Lord, against the advice of these three eminent London financiers, the Secretary of State has before him the unanimous recommendation of independent experts well qualified to give sound advice on this subject who constituted the Indian Currency Committee over which Sir Henry Fowler presided. This recommendation was to the effect that any profit made on the coinage of rupees should be kept in gold as a Special Reserve. The Secretary of State is therefore incurring a very grave responsibility in disregarding independent advice.

"But, my Lord, this does not exhaust our cause for complaint. In addition to our Gold Standard Reserve, the Secretary of State has withdrawn  $8\frac{1}{2}$  million pounds of our Paper Currency Reserve and many million pounds more out of our Treasury balances over and above his budget requirements. The cash balances in the hands of the Secretary of State in London in January

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1912 amounted to 17½ million pounds sterling, and this year till the 20th instant the Secretary of State has drawn 3½ million pounds in excess of this year's requirements for Home charges, and still we have 10 days to run in this financial year. What is the object in withdrawing such large amounts from India? In reply to the Hon'ble Mr. Armstrong's question in Simla in September last inquiring whether much larger cash balances were now held in the Home Treasury than formerly, and if so, the reasons for this, the Hon'ble Finance Member gave, amongst other explanations, 'the heavy sales of Council Bills and telegraphic transfers in excess of the requirements of the Home Treasury.' My Lord, this explanation explains nothing. It is only a paraphrase of the question. In busy seasons, while India clamours for money, and while the Bank rate of interest on the security of Government paper goes up to 8 per cent. per annum, while the industry and commerce of the country suffer by the high rate of interest and sometimes find difficulty in getting money at all, the Secretary of State keeps millions and millions of our cash invested by him at a nominal rate of interest with the London bankers and financiers. A more unsatisfactory policy it is difficult to conceive. If even a portion of the amount lying in London had been available with our bankers here, the present stringency of the money market would not have arisen and the commerce and industry of the country would greatly have benefited. Apart from the interests of commerce and industry, which must be dear to us, is it to the interest of Government itself and to the credit of India that such a monetary stringency should be allowed to happen when we have the means of relieving it? Is it to India's credit that on the security of its own promissory notes the holders should have to pay in the busy season a high rate of 8 to 9 per cent. per annum, which is more than double the rate paid by Government? How can we expect under such circumstances that Government paper should be more popular? In England, every one, from the Chancellor of the Exchequer down to the humble banker and financier, is seriously concerned about the steps to be taken to make the British Consols more popular. At present that is the principal topic in England. We in India export our available capital to London and starve our banking institutions to the detriment of the popularity of our own paper. If means can be adopted by which we can prevent the enormous rise of the rate of interest in the busy season, I am sure, and that is the opinion of many bankers, that the price of Government paper would stand at a much higher figure than now. Apart from this consideration, we have to bear in mind that this periodical tightness of the money market is a great hindrance to our industrial progress. Violent fluctuations are always to be deprecated. In Great Britain, while the Bank rate varies from 3 per cent. to 5 per cent. in the busy season, a difference of 2 per cent., in India it varies from 3 per cent. to 8 per cent., a difference of 5 per cent. I find from the reply to-day that about 2½ per cent. is the average rate of interest with the London financiers.

"My Lord, this craving for India's money in London is so great and the Secretary of State is so much influenced by the London money market that his Council to-day may be said to be one of the biggest financial houses in London. It is impossible to describe the financial operations of the Secretary of State's Council in better words than those used by Lord Morley himself who, on May 10th last, was the principal guest at the annual dinner of the English Association of Bankers. It is a reported speech. He said (after dinner.) (This is not an after dinner topic, but I may as well speak of it, if you will allow me.) He said:—

'I think that even many of you, experienced men as you are, will be rather astonished at the magnitude of the India Office figures. The cash balance at the present term is £18,750,000—not rupees, but pounds—and of that £8,350,000 is placed on deposit at 2 to 3 months' credit, and nearly £10,000,000 is lent to first class firms on unimpeachable security from three to five weeks' notice. The maturing and re-lending of these sums cause a cash business which amounts to £60,000,000 a year. There are other details with which I will not burden you, but the India Office is responsible in the year 1910-11 for £160,000,000 (240 crores of rupees). There are other details of further management of accumulated funds of Gold Standard Reserve in this country, which amounts to upwards of £17,000,000, and of Paper Currency Reserve, which amounts to £7,500,000. It is



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obvious, Gentlemen, that the influence of the money market on the movement of these very large sums must be considered, and large temporary and permanent investments of Indian balances of various kinds must affect, to a very considerable degree indeed, the rate of discount and the movement of the prices of securities. I only venture to bring that to your attention as showing how deeply you are all concerned in the prudent, judicious management of the finances of the India Office.

"His Lordship continued :

"I only bring that before you in order to prevent anybody in India saying "Ah ! you have these enormous figures, this £160,000,000 but you are dealing with our figures." Yes, we are dealing with their figures in a sense, but we are dealing with British capital for the most part. However, that may be, we are dealing with it to the enormous material advantage of the population concerned."

"My Lord, the passage which I have quoted shows clearly that the India Office, in addition to its regular duties as a supervising agency, has undertaken the duties also of being a great banking house for financing the London money market. 160 million pounds, as Lord Morley says, is an enormous figure and it is not to be expected that those who control these investments will be easily persuaded to relax their hold on our money and leave it free to return to India. I realise therefore that the Secretary of State may have to face a very strong opposition before he could consent to the proposition which my resolution embodies. But I am confident, knowing as we do now so much about Lord Crewe after his recent visit to India and his desire to do everything in his power to advance Indian interests, that he will stand up for India's right against such opposition."

"Lord Morley anticipated a natural objection from India that he was dealing with our figures, and went on to reply that he was dealing with British capital. This is surely a novel statement."

"The whole of our Gold Standard Reserve, amounting to nearly 18 million pounds, which is in England is the accumulation of our profits on the coinage of rupees. We have circulated amongst the people a rupee with an intrinsic value of only annas ten, and the balance of annas six is carried to the Gold Standard Reserve. Is this British capital? Then, again, we have about 2½ million pounds of our Paper Currency Reserve invested in England in addition to 5½ millions in gold earmarked for the Paper Currency. Is that British capital? Then, again, the large cash balances of the Secretary of State accumulated by the heavy sales of Council Bills and Telegraphic Transfers in excess of the requirements of the Home Treasury. Is that British capital? I fail to understand the cogency of this argument. If you say that because India raises loans for railways in England and therefore you should invest all these funds there, I would ask are the loans raised there on business principles and do those who buy our paper do it as a sort of investment for themselves or are they doing it to oblige us? Do Canada, Australia, South Africa and other British Colonies not raise loans in England? Do they maintain in England a financial house to finance, out of their own surplus money, the London market, or do they use their money for the development of their own country? The same argument applies to the loans raised by other foreign countries in the London market."

"My Lord, if our Gold Standard Reserve is kept in India in gold, we may be able in times of emergency to be of service to the London money market, while under the present policy, in time of emergency we may increase their difficulties by our necessity to withdraw the gold. A big money market like London will not be adversely affected by the gradual withdrawal of gold in normal times, but in times of trouble it may feel the pinch. With our gold in India, London will keep its necessary stock of gold in the usual way, and in times of trouble we can help them with our gold, which will be an extra reserve. So looking from the point of view of England itself, it is an advantage that our gold should remain in India. There is a further advantage if our Gold Reserve is in India. Government have tried to popularise currency notes and meet the wishes of the Commercial communities by making universal currency notes up to the value of Rupees 100. They have not been able to make all currency notes universal because of the

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difficulty of meeting the demand of coins on presentation. With a large quantity of our gold in India and distributed over all important centres in addition to the Currency Reserve, our power of successfully meeting any demand for coins will be enormously increased. As years pass and people get used more and more to gold coins, it may be possible to make all currency notes universal. It will be an enormous advantage to trade and commerce, and at the same time it will still further popularise paper currency and largely increase its circulation. Those requiring rupees for small business will get them by tendering gold coins just as they get small change and copper by representation of rupees. Time does not permit me to develop up this argument any further, but I hope I have been able to show that it is both to the advantage of India and England that our Gold Standard Reserve should be held in gold in India.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale :** "My Lord, I wish to express my entire concurrence with my Hon'ble friend in all he has said. He has stated the case with that clearness and practical ability which always distinguish his utterances, and I do not think anything more need be added to what he has said. I heartily support his Resolution."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :** "My Lord, I cordially support this Resolution. The Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas has very forcibly and lucidly pointed out the injustice that follows to India from the investment of, at a nominal rate of interest, the bulk of the gold of the Gold Standard Reserve, while money is scarce here and the Bank rate of interest upon demand loans reaches at times the high figure of 9 per cent. It is admitted that liquid capital is what is most needed in this country, and one of the principal reasons for the Government anxiety at the falling exchange 20 years ago was that it retarded the flow of sterling capital here. Now that sterling exchange has steadied and Government holds a large amount of cash in the Gold Standard Reserve, much larger than is necessary to ensure success to the currency measures, the request does not appear extravagant that a substantial part of the Reserve should be held in India. The greater portion of the Reserve now helps to ease the stringency of the London market, and obviously such operations are not required for the support of exchange. Why should not then effect be given to the proposal? The industrial and commercial interests of India are a matter of supreme concern to the Government. When therefore it lies in their power to promote them by relieving the stringency of the Indian money market by timely and temporary advances to the banks out of the superfluity of the Gold Standard Reserve, it is only reasonable to expect that Government will listen to our prayer. The Hon'ble mover has drawn our attention to some of the disagreeable features of the present situation, as also to the heavy odds against which we have to fight in inducing a change of policy in respect of the management of the Reserve. We all sincerely hope and trust Government will resist the adverse and interested influences, and do to India that justice which is her due."

"My Lord, the proposal does not involve any serious departure from that cautious policy which has secured to us a steady exchange. The scheme of which the Reserve is an integral part does not require the maintenance of a bigger reserve in London than £5,000,000. The highest figure suggested by experts was £10,000,000. In 1893, when the closure of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver initiated a new policy of currency reform, the idea of a Gold Standard Reserve was not entertained by Government. In fact, as has been pointed out by many, we had a gold standard years after. The proposals which were ultimately adopted by Government after the failure of the currency legislation of June 1893 to make the rupee convertible at 1s. 4d., had been first made public in 1876 by Mr. A. M. Lindsay, as pointed out by the Hon'ble Finance Minister this morning. After the slump in the sterling value of the rupee laid on the shoulders of this Government extraordinarily heavy financial liabilities, Mr. Ottomar Haupt of Paris, following the recent precedent of Austria-Hungary, suggested in the *Financial Times* certain relief measures, the principal feature of which was the closure of the mints.



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[*Mr. Dadabhoy; Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson.*] [22ND MARCH, 1912.]

Then came the expert Committees, but apparently all to no good purpose. In January 1893, however, the Madras Chamber of Commerce submitted to this Government for consideration Mr. Lindsay's scheme, whereby a gold standard could be adopted without a gold currency by the maintenance in London of a small reserve on the strength of which bills could be drawn upon India. This scheme was finally adopted by Government. It will be noted that in the original scheme a large reserve like the one we now have was not contemplated. The author, Mr. Lindsay, followed Ricardo both as regards the general plan and the amount of reserve. In Scotland and Ireland, where similar exchange difficulties had been experienced in the latter half of the eighteenth century and removed by arrangements with the Bank of England for the maintenance of gold funds, the reserve was never large. The Parliamentary Committee of 1804, consisting of Pitt, Fox, Foster and others, inquired into the whole question of the Irish currency, and recommended the creation of a small gold fund in London for the purpose of assuring fixity to exchange. Two members of the Indian Currency Committee, Lords Farrer and Welby, suggested in an Appendix to the Committee's Report the creation of a Gold Standard Reserve. But a large fund was not contemplated. So far as the legitimate functions of the Reserve were concerned, the consensus of expert opinion, no doubt, was that it should be held in London. But this does not militate against Sir Vithaldas's proposal. The Hon'ble mover does not propose that the whole of the Reserve should be transferred to India. His recommendation of transfer relates only to a substantial portion. And to this there could not be any reasonable objection. The present strength of the Reserve is already superfluous. We do not require such a large gold holding in London for the stability of the sterling exchange. The contingency is extremely unlikely that an adverse exchange would force the hands of the Secretary of State to exhaust the whole of a Reserve of five millions pounds sterling, and would compel this Government to send back the gold belonging to the Reserve transferred here from London according to the suggestion of Sir Vithaldas. Moreover, as a matter of fact, a substantial portion of the Reserve is now employed, as the Hon'ble Member has shown, in financing the London Banks. This is a purpose so obviously extraneous to the central object that the removal of that portion to India would not have the slightest influence, either present or prospective, upon sterling exchange. We do not object to Government putting as much spare cash as it can command to the Reserve. Our only grievance is, although built up at our cost, the country is deprived of the use of the Reserve in times of acute tightness."

**The Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson :** " I congratulate my Hon'ble friend Sir Vithaldas on this second excursion into the regions of pure finance and on the vigour and lucidity with which he has handled a subject of no small intricacy and difficulty. He has, as I have already said, the advantage of me in the freedom with which he can speak on subjects upon which my position, and the position of the Government of India, in relation to the Secretary of State in Council, compels me to caution and even to silence. He must not therefore misjudge me if I cannot follow him over all the field which he has opened for us in the speech to which we have just listened. It would, for example, be wholly out of place for me to discuss his views regarding the financial advisers of the Secretary of State, and the influence which they exercise on the disposition of our Indian resources. The responsibility of the Secretary of State in Council is one and undivided, and I at any rate cannot discuss his policy as if it were the policy of individuals. I can only undertake to place before the Secretary of State the expert financial opinion which the Hon'ble gentleman represents in India, and to ask that it receives due consideration along with the expert opinion which His Lordship obtains in England.

" Nor, even if I had the same freedom as my Hon'ble friend, would it be possible for me in the time at my disposal to examine with sufficient care the wide variety of topics over which he has ranged. Let me take, for example,

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[22ND MARCH, 1912.] [Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson.]

the question of our high balances. I am quite at one with Sir Vithaldas in holding that high treasury balances, whether held in England or in India, are in ordinary circumstances wrong and wasteful.

"High balances in ordinary circumstances are an indication that we have borrowed more than is actually necessary. But it would require a somewhat detailed analysis to place the Council in a position to judge whether the recent history of our treasury balances justifies this rather severe condemnation. I should have to point out to what extent money has been accumulated in London to meet large payments for the redemption of railway debentures which shortly fall due; I should have to connect our opium windfall with the India Bills which I hope we are now on the eve of withdrawing; and I should no doubt have to add a number of other qualifications before I could answer with confidence the point which my Hon'ble friend has taken. Similarly with his arguments in favour of lending out our balances to banks in India; this is also a question to which there are two sides, and an examination of it would involve a lengthy and probably a somewhat dull dissertation on the metallic basis of credit in our Indian money market. To take only one other instance of the wide range of my friend's speech, I should have to go in some detail into the theory of the convertibility of our currency notes, if I were going to attempt an adequate reply to his suggestion for a wider dispersal of our gold resources as a reserve against our paper currency.

"I must, however, avoid these and other fascinating bye-paths into which the Hon'ble Member invites me to stray. And I must return to the literal phrasing of his motion, namely, that a substantial portion of the Gold Standard Reserve should be held in India. Now, I take it that, if Sir Vithaldas had his own way, he would transfer 10 or 15 millions sterling from London to Calcutta. It would come out in sovereigns, and we should then have to decide whether to keep it in sovereigns or to lend it out, as in London, to the banks and on approved short term securities. My Hon'ble friend has not said definitely which of these two courses he would follow; but from the general tenor of his arguments, I gather that he would not be averse to assisting the industry of India on reasonable terms. He has drawn attention, in the most reasonable and proper manner, to the great fluctuations in the rates of interest in this country, and to the prejudicial effect which these fluctuations must have on trade and business. He believes that a more liberal handling of the Government balances would steady the position; and I may, therefore, for the sake of argument, assume that he would not be unwilling to see our Gold Standard Reserve, or some part of it, lent out on approved security. Now, if this happened, it is quite possible that the market would be materially assisted for the moment; a fillip would be given to business; and for a time the severity of the bank rate might be mitigated. But let us see precisely what this would mean, and what would be the consequence when conditions changed. Our gold would be dissipated; it would have passed not only out of our own hands, but out of the hands of the larger banks, and would have flowed down the infinite number of small channels through which our currency trickles to the millions of producers in the country. So far all has gone well; but a bad year comes—and in India there is a tragic periodicity about bad years—and the whole situation changes; or there is a crisis in international finance, and the markets for our exports are temporarily closed. The occasion would thus present itself for the use of our gold. We should be asked to export it promptly and in large quantities to prevent a wholesale collapse of exchange. But where should we turn for it in response to this demand? We should have to realise our securities; we should have to call it in from the banks. The sovereign would already be, as it always is when the balance of trade is against us, at a premium; it would have practically disappeared from circulation; and large quantities would be obtainable only with the greatest difficulty. By calling in our stock, we should at once raise the premium on gold; we should increase alarm and we should precipitate a panic. The very people on whom we were foreclosing would be those who could worst afford to meet our claims. Exchange would go down with a rush, and commercial disaster might follow. I can imagine no more calamitous position



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[*Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson: Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey.* [22ND MARCH, 1912.]

than to have our Gold Standard Reserve, or any substantial part of it, out of our own hands in this country at a time of real difficulty.

"But let us take the other alternative.\* Let us assume that we are able to resist the desire of the market for our gold, and to maintain it in fluid form. We should then have large quantities of sovereigns shut up in the vaults of Fort William, dormant and inaccessible. In this condition they would remain until required for export in support of exchange. Now, what would happen when they are so required? Presumably, the demands for bills on London would be greater than the supply, and our import merchants would come to us and buy our sovereigns, in order to send them to London in the absence of bills at a reasonable price. They would obtain sovereigns from us; they would then have to arrange for freight; they would have to insure the consignments; and they would have to bear the burden of interest in the interval between the purchase of the gold and its delivery to their creditors in Europe. They would thus pay all expenses of freight, insurance and interest, besides the risk of loss or delay in transit. Would your import merchant prefer this process to the alternative process of coming to our Comptroller General and buying a telegraphic transfer on London, which could be cashed with absolute security by his creditor next day?

"I think there is little doubt which of these two alternatives the ordinary business man would prefer. It would almost certainly be the latter; and the latter is precisely what the Government of India offer to the mercantile public under existing arrangements, while the former is what my friend Sir Vithaldas would substitute for it. It seems to me that there is no real comparison between the inconvenience on the one hand of having gold locked up here, six thousand miles from the point where it is wanted and where it can be effectively employed, and the convenience on the other hand of holding a large quantity of gold or securities which presumably closely approach gold in their stability, which we are in a position to sell by cable the moment that it is wanted and at the place where it is going to be used.

"Sir Vithaldas has supported his arguments by a number of subsidiary considerations in favour of moving our gold from London to India. He points out, for example, that other great countries keep large reserves of liquid gold in their strongholds. I am not quite clear of the extent to which he is thinking of gold which is stored by Government to provide for the encashment of convertible notes, and I think it will be found that, in the countries which he mentions, a considerable proportion of their holdings is necessitated by the size of their paper currency. He also urges that our gold would be useless to us in London in the event of war or panic. If by panic he means an acute financial crisis, I can only repeat what I have said before in another connection, that the Secretary of State has deliberately accepted full responsibility for making the reserve available when required for the purpose for which it was created. In the event of war, I do not see how our gold would be in any degree more useful in India than in London. If the trouble were in this country, we should have all the anxiety and expense of protecting it. If the war were in Europe, it might be perfectly impossible to ship gold from India to the European markets, and it would remain useless in our hands. Finally, Sir Vithaldas has alluded to the feeling that the gold reserve is our own money and that, as a matter of national pride, it should be in our own country as a visible possession. I know that such a sentiment exists, and I am far from despising sentiment even in financial matters; but I cannot seriously think that it should be weighed for a moment against the practical convenience and value of holding our gold in the place where it can best serve the interests of India. It is for this reason that I much regret that I am unable to accept the Hon'ble Member's motion."

The Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey: "My Lord, I very much regret that Government are not willing to accept my Resolution. I shall not long detain the Council in reply to the several arguments advanced by the Hon'ble Finance Member, because the impression left on my mind

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[22ND MARCH, 1912.]

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at the end of his speech was, that the arguments he advanced against the proposition were so weak that I need not go into the details of them. I only therefore touch two or three points in his speech. He said that the policy that was followed in London was the policy of the Secretary of State in Council and not of individual members. I did not at all say in my speech that it was not so. The policy, of course, is the Secretary of State's policy; but what I pointed out was that the Secretary of State was advised by people who had also other than India's interests to guard. The statement\* which the Hon'ble Member has placed before us in reply to my Hon'ble friend Mr. Armstrong's question clearly confirms my contention. It shows that over 10½ million pounds sterling have been lent to approvers, not necessarily joint stock banks, and that about 3½ millions have been deposited with approved banks. On 3 out of the 6 approved banks as mentioned in the statement the Secretary of State's advisers sit as Directors or as Governors. I leave it to the Council to judge whether a man can act in two positions very justifiably. If we put the managers of the Bank of Bombay and the Bank of Bengal and the Bank of Madras on Your Lordship's Council, I am quite sure they will give strong reasons why our money should be brought here, and they will point out to the Hon'ble the Finance Member excellent securities on which those funds can be lent. I have not the slightest doubt that our money in England is being lent on good securities; but I say that we can lend money also on good securities in India with great advantage to ourselves. I will just read a few lines, from a report published in the *Times of India*, of an incident during an instructive discussion of Indian commerce following a well supported dinner of the London Chamber of Commerce at the Trocadero in February last, which shows how things move:

'Soon after we had a somewhat amusing reminder that, in monetary matters at least, the sense of reciprocal obligation to India is not so strong as it might be on the part of those who represent city banking interests on the India Council. Giving as a reason for the inadequacy of the flow of British capital into India, the existence even now of the old prejudices having their origin in the instability of the rupee, Sir Felix Schuster, member of the Secretary of State's Council, said that the duty of Government was to support the policy their predecessors laid down by building up their currency reserves in times of prosperity, so that exchange might stand severe tests such as that through which it passed two or three years ago. Someone (I think it was Mr. G. W. R. Forrest) called out, "yes, build up the gold reserve in India." The shaft went home, and Sir Felix, thrown off his habitual guard, made a remark he would much rather have left unsaid, as was clear from the incompleteness of his sentence: "Not only in India," he retorted, "but on our side as well; we can do with it here, and I sometimes wonder . . . ." (he left the sentence incomplete).'

"My Lord, we say we can do with it here to the greater advantage of India."

"Then the second point in the Hon'ble Member's speech was that if we brought all our gold to India, when the balance of trade went against us, we should have to export gold, and that would be a great inconvenience to merchants. I admit the cogency of the argument so far, but, during the last 11 or 12 years, how many times have we had to send gold to England? It was only in one year, in 1908, and every other year we have been accumulating our gold standard reserve. Only once in 11 or 12 years if there is any occasion for merchants to export gold, that cannot be called any great inconvenience compared with the great benefit which India would derive with a gold reserve here. Then he said that merchants would prefer telegraphic transfers instead of exporting gold. I did not propose that we should export gold always. In the usual way the Secretary of State would draw on India his Council Bills, and the money necessary to be sent out to England for home charges would be drawn in the usual way, and for that purpose you have not to export gold. It is only when the balance of trade goes against us that the occasion will arise, and that is very rarely, say once in 15 or 20 years. Again we are told that the Secretary of State has taken full responsibility for the present policy. Well, that does not satisfy us. Whoever may take the full responsibility, the everyday loss is ours, and we are not quite satisfied by simply an assertion that those who manage our currency and our reserve, assure us that in time of war or

\* *Vide* Appendix.



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emergency our gold will be made available. We say we want it here, it is our gold, and it ought to remain here. I have already pointed out in my speech that all civilized countries in the world have gold reserves, and I will give you a few figures: United States treasury 233 million pounds, Russia 130 million pounds, France 131 million pounds, Australia 55 million pounds, Bank of England 31 million pounds, and so on. The real reason is that the gold reserve in the London Bank is so low that they cannot afford to send our gold here. We must recognise this; it is no use arguing against facts. The London gold reserve is only 31 million pounds, and the London financiers fear that they might be inconvenienced. My personal opinion is that they won't feel the pinch, if we withdraw our gold gradually. At the same time they will feel the pinch more if we have to withdraw our gold in times of emergency, and it is for England's sake also that our gold should be here. At least twice or thrice, the Bank of England had to go to France for gold. Well, I think it would increase the prestige of Great Britain to come to India for gold rather than to go to France or any other foreign country for gold in times of emergency. My Lord, although Government may not be able to accept this proposition as a whole, I hope the Government of India will take seriously into consideration the position in which the industries are placed in India in the busy season owing to the rise in the rate of interest. I have already said that the Bank rate goes up to 8 or 9 per cent. I will read to you a paragraph from the speech of the Hon'ble Sir James Begbie, who is the senior banker in India, and whose excellent work has been recognised by Government only the other day by honouring him. He said:

'You also know that as regularly as one season succeeds another, Bank rate rises from the minimum in the monsoon months to its maximum in the winter and spring months, and that the maximum may be anything from seven to nine per cent., nine per cent. being the highest point for a good many years past. It is inevitable under conditions in India that this regular waxing and waning of Bank rate should occur, but is it inevitable that the movement should be so extreme and especially that the rate should be so constantly forced to such high levels? I think not. The greatest factor in forcing up the rate is the great volume of money that is taken off the market by Government and locked away in the Treasury vaults. That money is released in bulk only through payments for Council bills, that is, after the public have either voluntarily sold their produce for export or been obliged to part with it under the pressure of a high Bank rate as frequently happens.'

"I hope the Government of India will seriously consider this position, and devise some policy by which the Bank rate may not go so high. Even our high cash balance in India might be utilized for the purpose, but I think the rate of interest in India ought not to rise above  $5\frac{1}{2}$  or 6 per cent.

"My Lord, I think the question is of such great importance that I hope the Council will accept my Resolution."

The Council divided:

*Ayes—24.*

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid, the Hon'ble Raja of Partabgarh, the Hon'ble Raja of Mahmudabad, the Hon'ble Maulvi Shams-ul-Huda, the Hon'ble Raja of Dighapatia, the Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu, the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha, the Hon'ble Mr. Haque, the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad, the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao, the Hon'ble Raja of Kurupam, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, the Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar, the Hon'ble Sir Cecil Graham, the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis, the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, the Hon'ble Malik Umar Hyat Khan, the Hon'ble Maung Mye, the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri and the Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey.

*Noes—33.*

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle, the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt

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Butler, the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam, the Hon'ble Mr. Clark, the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, the Hon'ble Major General Sir M. H. S. Grover, the Hon'ble Mr. Maclagan, the Hon'ble Mr. Porter, the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, the Hon'ble Mr. Enthoven, the Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler, the Hon'ble Mr. Brunyate, the Hon'ble Sir A. H. McMahon, the Hon'ble Mr. Lyon, the Hon'ble Mr. Saunders, the Hon'ble Sir James Meston, the Hon'ble Mr. Gordon, the Hon'ble Surgeon General Sir C. P. Lukis, the Hon'ble Mr. Fremantle, the Hon'ble Mr. Vincent, the Hon'ble Mr. Carr, the Hon'ble Mr. Arthur, the Hon'ble Mr. Fyffe, the Hon'ble Mr. Phillips, the Hon'ble Mr. Meredith, the Hon'ble Mr. Gates, the Hon'ble Mr. Slacke, the Hon'ble Sir Charles Stewart-Wilson, the Hon'ble Mr. Dempster, the Hon'ble Sir T. R. Wynne, and the Hon'ble Mr. Kesteven.

So the Resolution was rejected.

[*At this stage, the Hon'ble Sir GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON, Vice-President of the Council, took the Chair.*]

## INDIAN COMPANIES BILL.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :** "Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to trading companies and other associations.

"Government, Sir, hold that the time is now ripe for a further revision and consolidation of company legislation in this country. The existing law on the subject in India is contained in the Indian Companies Act of 1882, which was modelled on the English law in force in 1877. Since 1882, the Indian law has been added to by four amending Acts dealing with matters of relatively minor importance, while the substantial additions which have been made to the English law by a long series of Acts passed between 1879 and 1908 have not, with the exception of the matters contained in the four amending measures to which I have just referred, found a place in the Indian law. In England, since 1882, there have been no less than thirteen amending Acts, culminating in 1907 with a comprehensive amending Act based on the recommendations of a strong Committee among the members of which were some of the most eminent company lawyers of the day. This Act was followed by the Companies Consolidation Act of 1908, which consolidated the English law into a convenient code. The differences which now consequently exist between the Indian and the English law, in themselves form strong ground for legislation. Ever since we have had any company legislation in India, the advantages of having our company law as similar as possible to the English law has been recognised by the Indian Legislature. The Indian Act of 1857 was a reproduction of the English Joint Stock Companies Act of 19 and 20 Victoria. The Indian Act of 1866 copied the English Act of 1862; and the Indian Act of 1882 (the present Act) followed, as I have already said, the additions made in the English law up to 1877. The advantages of such assimilation are evident. The English law has been studied and commented on comprehensively, and in adopting it, we also inherit the wisdom of the many learned persons who have devoted their time to its exposition: and when it is necessary to carry a case up to the Privy Council, it is manifestly convenient that the law which is to be argued in English should be substantially the same as the English law. Assimilation of the law also tends to produce a feeling of greater security in the breast of the British investor whose capital we wish to attract to this country. As the Board of Trade pointed out in a Memorandum on the Company Laws of the Empire laid before the Imperial Conference of 1907, assimilation "would tend to increase the confidence of the home investor in companies registered in India and in the Colonies, and the result might well be a greater willingness on the part of capital from home to flow into Indian and Colonial undertakings and enterprises.

"Since 1882, there has been a great increase in the number of joint stock companies in India. In 1885-86, there were only 757 companies at work



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with a paid up capital of 21 crores. In 1910-11, there were 2,251 companies with a paid up capital of 64 crores; in other words, the number of companies and their paid up capital has trebled since the legislation of 1882 came into force. I think it will be generally recognised that with this great increase in business, with the evidence before us of the frequent amendments in company legislation which it has been found necessary to make in England, Government cannot be held to have been premature in having taken up the amendment of the company law of India.

"From what I have said, Hon'ble Members will have anticipated that the Bill follows very closely the provisions of the English Act of 1908. We have not only adopted its principles but have aimed at reproducing as far as possible its language and arrangement. We have, however, preserved the provisions of the Indian Act in certain instances where the law of this country can claim to be more advanced than its elder sister, and we have added two entirely new provisions of some importance to which I shall presently refer.

"The Government of India took up the matter in 1909 and a circular letter was addressed to all Local Governments and Administrations asking for their opinions as to the suitability of the provisions of the English Act for adoption in India. The proposal to legislate has met with practically unanimous support from the authorities consulted. Such criticisms as have been made have been mostly in the direction of suggesting that the English law does not go far enough and that Government should take greater powers of control. A somewhat different point of view has been put forward by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and it is one which deserves careful consideration. The Committee of the Bengal Chamber suggest that it is questionable whether such an elaborate procedure as is prescribed by the Act of 1908 is necessary or desirable in India, and they thought that in the Indian Bill it should be possible to omit some of the details prescribed in the English Act. The Committee, however, preferred not to make any definite proposals as to matters which might be omitted until they had seen the actual Bill. The Government of India recognise the importance of the point, but it has seemed better to leave the question over until they have received the detailed suggestions of the Chamber after they have had the opportunity of fully examining the Bill.

"I now turn to the other class of criticism, namely, that the English law does not go far enough in the direction of State control. Suggestions of very varying scope have been made to us, some of which go so far as almost to require Government to undertake that a company should pay satisfactory dividends to its shareholders. As I said in connection with the Assurance measures which have just passed through this Council, I fully recognise that in India the State must be prepared to accept heavier responsibilities than in western countries, but I hope I shall carry with me the approval of Council when I say that in such legislation as this, the ideal to be aimed at is the minimum of State interference compatible with the due protection of the investor. We have included two, and only two, provisions working in this direction which do not appear in the British Act. Two may seem a small number, but they are both provisions of some considerable importance.

"Clause 109 of the English Act provides that the Board of Trade may appoint one or more competent inspectors to investigate the affairs of any company on the application of a certain proportion of the shareholders. In the Indian Bill we propose to go further, and to provide also that where the Registrar, on perusal of any document which the company is required to submit to him, considers that any further information or explanation is necessary, and where, after calling on the company to submit such information, he either does not receive it or is of opinion that an unsatisfactory state of affairs is disclosed, he shall report the circumstances of the case in writing to the Local Government, and it shall be open to the Local Government to appoint an inspector. By making this provision for an inspector to be appointed without any action being taken on the part of the shareholders, we hope to some extent to guard against abuses creeping in through apathy and lack of initiative

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on the part of the shareholders, who in India cannot be accepted to be so alive to their own interests as in an European country.

"The other matter is in connection with auditors. In sections 112 and 113 of the English Act, the appointment, remuneration, powers and duties of auditors are fully provided for, but nothing is said as to the qualifications of the men who are to act as auditors. In India the question of their qualifications is one of supreme importance. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce referred to it in their letter on the subject of this legislation, and I had the further advantage of discussing it with their Committee, as the Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas Thackersey will remember, when I was last in Bombay. What we propose is, in adopting the English provisions, also to provide in the Bill that no person, other than a person holding a certificate from a Local Government entitling him in that behalf, shall be appointed auditor of a company. In this country it would clearly be going too far to lay down that no one should act as an auditor who is not a Chartered or Incorporated Accountant. Such a provision would mean an undue restriction on business. But we hope by requiring such certification by a Local Government to establish a standard which will at least facilitate the elimination of the incompetent by the refusal of the cancellation of the certificate. I am also to say that the Government have under consideration a scheme for starting schools of accountancy for the training of auditors at suitable centres under the control of Local Governments and for the establishment of examinations in connection with the proposed Government certificate. My Hon'ble Friend the Member for Education is interesting himself in this matter, and we hope that a scheme on these lines will not only produce in time a sufficiency of thoroughly qualified accountants to meet the increasing demands for such work in India, but will also result in opening up a lucrative field of employment for Indians who should be well adapted for the work but at present enjoy few facilities to become qualified.

"These are the only two matters in which Government as at present advised propose to go further under this head, than the English law, but I ought to point out that by the mere adoption of that law as it stands, we are greatly improving the present safeguards, especially in the direction of affording shareholders closer control over companies in the earlier stages of their formation. I will briefly mention the more important of these provisions. The first is the 'statutory meeting' which every company limited by shares and registered after the commencement of the Act is required to hold within a period of six months from the date on which it is entitled to commence business. At least ten days before this meeting is held, the Directors have to forward to every member of the company a report called the 'statutory report', which must be certified to by not less than two Directors of the company and must contain certain specified items of information regarding the position and constitution of the company. These provisions thus compel the Directors to let the shareholders know the exact financial position in the early stages of the company's history. The provisions in regard to the appointment and qualifications of Directors have been made much more stringent, and clauses dealing with the prospectus of a company require much fuller information to be given than heretofore including among other items the names of Directors and their interest in the company, the estimated amount of preliminary expenses, the amount paid or intended to be paid to the promoter, and the minimum subscription on which Directors may proceed to allotment. Other clauses prescribe restrictions on proceeding to allotment and on the commencement of business. I have already referred to the subject of auditors, whose appointment, remuneration, powers, duties and liabilities are now very strictly prescribed, and I may also mention another provision by which all companies situated outside British India, but operating therein, are required to make certain information available and to have a recognised agent in India to accept service of process or any notice which may have to be served on the company.

"While, generally speaking, we have followed the English law with an almost slavish exactitude, there are one or two points on which it has been necessary to depart from it. The most important of these is in regard to the



## COMPANIES.

[*Mr. Clark.*]

[ 22ND MARCH 1912. ]

winding up of companies by order of the Court. We have decided to retain in the main the procedure of the existing Indian law in place of the provisions introduced into the British law by the Companies Winding-up Act of 1890. In the United Kingdom, important functions are exercised by the Board of Trade, by Official Receivers and by Committees of Inspection ; but Government consider that it would be premature to attempt to create a corresponding machinery in this country. They therefore have left the discretion in the matter of winding-up in the hands of the Court. They have also retained the provisions of the existing Indian law in respect of the annual balance-sheet which can fairly claim to be more complete than the provisions of the English law. The other matters on which modifications have been made in the English law are of minor importance.

" I am afraid, Sir that I am taking up a very large amount of the time of Council, but there are two matters of considerable importance with which we have not attempted to deal in the Bill, and I think I ought to say a few words about their omission. The first of these is the question of Managing Agents, a problem peculiar to this country. The activities of these very useful persons, and their relations to the companies whose affairs they manage, have from time to time been open to attack, and it has been suggested that this Bill should more strictly regulate and define their position. Government have not seen their way to take action on this difficult matter which brings us up against the law of contract ; but when I say that, I do not wish to suggest for a moment that we are shutting the door against legislation, if practicable suggestions are made to us before this Bill becomes law. I should like, however, to place one consideration before Council. A Managing Agent either is a Director or is not a Director of the company he manages. In the former case, which I believe is the commonest, he will come under the provisions of the Bill for Directors, and the definition of ' Director ' in the Bill makes it clear that, whatever the title chosen for the governing body, the rules which apply to Directors apply also to persons who stand in the position of Directors. In the first case, therefore, he will be subject to the safeguards and penalties prescribed in the case of Directors. In the latter case, where the Managing Agent is not a Director, his relationship with the company is governed by contract and the Bill makes it necessary that every material contract should be disclosed in the prospectus. At any rate, therefore, full publicity is secured as to the nature of the relationship.

" The other even more thorny question with which we have not seen our way to deal is that of Banks or of businesses which with varying degree of accuracy prefer to call themselves Banks. This is not a specially Indian problem ; the recent failure of the Charing Cross Bank in England, and the appalling abuse of the depositors' confidence which it disclosed, will be fresh in the memory of Council. The evil which wants a remedy is that poor and uneducated people are attracted by the word ' Bank,' thinking that it necessarily implies security and stability, and ' unscrupulous persons accordingly apply the term to any speculative business in order to attract investors and depositors. But how is the use of the term to be restricted and how is banking business to be defined for the purpose ? Government will be very willing to consider any suggestions, but I must confess that the more I think of it the more difficult the problem appears of how to define a banking business, how to control it when you have defined it, and how to avoid interfering with the legitimate business of firms carrying on partly banking and partly other operations. I understand that informed opinion in the United Kingdom, where the question was stirred up again by the Charing Cross Bank smash, is against attempting to legislate, and we may well hesitate to rush in where more experienced legislators fear to tread.

" This, Sir, in more senses than one is a big measure. The Bill deals with big interest, and in the mere matter of bulk runs to 323 clauses and 31 pages of Schedules. It may well be that in such a mass of material those interested will find subjects for criticism and objection. I can only say that Government have no desire to hurry this legislation through ; that every scope will be given for criticism ; and that all opinions will be duly weighed ; and I shall

## COMPANIES.

[22ND MARCH 1912.] [Mr. Clark ; Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey ;  
Mr. Mudholkar ; Sir Cecil Graham.]

hope later on to have the advantage of personal discussion upon it in the different commercial centres of India. No legislation can prevent fraud or altogether indemnify the investor from the dangers of an incurable optimism : all you can hope for is to make the path of dishonesty more stony and the vagaries of ignorance less liable to disaster. I should be sorry if the impression were created that Government is undertaking this legislation owing to there being any widespread canker in Indian commercial circles ; though bad cases have occurred from time to time, here as in other countries, there is no ground for such a supposition. But we ought to have the best Act we can and I am sure that, as in other recent commercial legislation, I can count on the assistance of the important Chambers of Commerce and of all those interested in commercial law, in helping us to get it."

**The Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas Thackersey :** " Mr. Vice-President, I heartily congratulate Government on introducing this Bill in this Council. I have no opportunity of going through the several sections referred to by the Hon'ble Member, and therefore I am not prepared at present to go into the details of the Bill ; but on the principle of the Bill, I think commercial communities are at one that this Bill is not brought forward a day too soon."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar :** " Sir, I had an opportunity of expressing my views in regard to the proposed legislation a year or so ago. On that occasion I expressed my concurrence in the proposal that the amendment of the Indian Companies Act should be undertaken. I have studied the English law and I consider that the new provisions introduced into the English Companies Consolidated Act are very desirable, and should be brought into our code also. There are of course several matters in regard to which slight alterations may have to be made, necessitated by the difference in the circumstances of the two countries. But there is no doubt that the English Companies Act of 1908 provides more safeguards than the old law, and that such safeguards are required in India also. It is not necessary to refer to these things specifically on this occasion. We shall have to go into these matters when the time comes. But with regard to the necessity for legislation on the lines which Government propose, I agree with the Hon'ble Member. The Conference which I have the honour to represent, the Indian Industrial Conference in which Indians and Europeans join on more occasions than one, dealt with the subject and expressed its view that the time has come for assimilating the Indian law to the improved English law. With these general observations, I heartily congratulate the Government and the Hon'ble Member on the steps which they propose taking in the matter."

**The Hon'ble Sir Cecil Graham :** " Sir, I should like to join other Hon'ble Members in congratulating the Government and the Hon'ble Member in charge, for having brought this Bill in. The whole of the commercial community, I think, are at one in wishing for this legislation ; but as the Hon'ble Member has pointed out, the Chambers of Commerce preferred to wait and defer expressing their opinion on the details until the actual Bill was before them. However, the Hon'ble Member has promised us plenty of time to go thoroughly into the details and see how far the English Act will fall in line with the conditions governing commerce and business in India. There is only one thing I should like to ask the Hon'ble Member, and that is if he has any information he can give us as to how the English Act has worked in England so far."

**The Hon'ble Mr Clark :** " Sir, I am very much obliged to Hon'ble Members for the cordial reception they have given to this Bill.

" As regards the question which the Hon'ble Sir Cecil Graham has raised, we are expecting to receive a report from the Board of Trade in London on the subject of the English Act as applied to India, and I imagine that in that report they will inform us as to whether any of the provisions of the Act



## COMPANIES.

[*Mr. Clark.*]

[22ND MARCH 1912.]

of 1908 have been found not to work well. We had to introduce the Bill before receiving the report so as to avoid any risk of not getting it introduced this session."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark introduced the Bill.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark moved that the Bill together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto be published in the Gazette of India in English and in the local official Gazettes in English and in such other languages as the Local Governments think fit.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Council adjourned to Monday, the 25th March 1912.

W. H. VINCENT,

*Secretary to the Government of India,  
Legislative Department.*

CALCUTTA ;

*The 30th March 1912.*

## APPENDIX.

*Balances in the Home Treasury at the end of each month.*

				£
April	1911	.	.	15,766,171
May	"	.	.	18,222,451
June	"	.	.	18,989,029
July	"	.	.	16,431,712
August	"	.	.	16,552,602
September	"	.	.	17,459,711
October	"	.	.	15,131,632
November	"	.	.	15,000,691
December	"	.	.	15,292,638

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.  
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA,  
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS  
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 TO  
1909 (24 & 25 VICT., c. 67, 55 & 56 VICT., c. 14, AND 9 EDW. VII. c. 4).

The Council met at Government House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 25th  
March 1912.

PRESENT :

His Excellency BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.  
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor General of India, *presiding*,  
and 59 Members, of whom 51 were Additional Members.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Raja of Dighapatia asked :

"Is it a fact that the *Pioneer* till very recently charged double its ordinary rates for all official advertisements? If so, how long since has this arrangement been discontinued?"

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :

"The rate charged by the *Pioneer* for Government advertisements is 8 annas per line, and no change has recently been made in this respect. It is understood that the rates charged by the same newspaper for private casual advertisements vary between 4 annas and 9 annas per line according to the position in the paper in which the advertisements are inserted."

The Hon'ble Raja of Dighapatia asked :

"Is it the intention of the Government to appoint qualified Indians in the work of scientific investigation of tropical diseases now being carried on by the Central Research Institutes at Kasauli and in other similar institutes in the country?"

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :

"The Government of India will always employ the best man available for any inquiry of a scientific nature, no matter what his race or creed may be. Dr. Korke, who is an Indian, has recently been appointed to inquire into Kala-azar."



**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS; BENGAL, BIHAR AND ASSAM LAWS.**

[*Raja of Dighapatia* ; *Sir Harcourt Butler* ; *Raja Pratab Bahadur Singh* ; *Sir Robert Carlyle* ; *Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis* ; *Mr. Syed Ali Imam.*] [21<sup>ST</sup> MARCH 1912.]

**The Hon'ble Raja of Dighapatia asked :**

"Does the Government propose to publish annually a statement showing in each Province the mortality under different heads and the measures taken to improve the several sanitary conditions of each Province?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :**

"The Hon'ble Member is referred to the statements appended to sections III and VII of the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, and to the annual reports of the Provincial Sanitary Commissioners, in which he will find the information he requires."

**The Hon'ble Raja Pratab Bahadur Singh asked :**

"(a) Will the Government be pleased to state how much area in each reserved forest is open for pasturage of cattle?"

"(b) Are Government aware that there are pressing demands for pasture lands?"

"(c) If so, do Government propose to increase the pasturable area free or on receipt of fee per head of cattle grazing in the said area?"

"(d) Do Government propose to encourage the reservation of land in each village for pasturage of cattle and not assess revenue upon it?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :**

"(a) Figures are not available for each reserved forest, but I lay a statement\* on the table giving some details by Provinces.

"(b) The Government of India are aware that there are tracts in which it would be very desirable, if possible, to increase the pasturable area.

"(c) The question of increasing the pasturable area where this is practicable and desirable is essentially one for Local Governments to deal with, and the Government of India can lay down no general rules in the matter.

"(d) Steps are already taken in several Provinces to provide grazing grounds free of assessment for village cattle, but the introduction of such arrangements and the manner in which they should be carried out are questions primarily for the consideration of Local Governments. It may be noticed that the Government of India have recently sanctioned an experiment proposed by the Government of the United Provinces by which revenue on 80,000 acres of waste-land in Oudh has been remitted on the condition that this area was maintained for the grazing of migratory herds of cattle."

**The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis asked :**

"Do the Government intend to have settlements for thirty years or for longer terms in the Central Provinces, especially in the fully developed districts?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :**

"The Government of India do not consider that any districts in the Central Provinces are at present so developed as to justify the extension of the term of settlement in them for a longer period than twenty years."

**BENGAL, BIHAR AND ASSAM LAWS BILL.**

**The Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam :** "My Lord, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to make certain provisions regarding the application of the

\* *Vide Appendix.*

**BENGAL, BIHAR AND ASSAM LAWS.**

[25TH MARCH 1912.] [Mr. Syed Ali Imam; the President; Babu Bhupendra nath Basu.]

law in force in the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, the Province of Bihar and Orissa and the Province of Assam.

"The Proclamations which appeared in the *Gazette of India Extraordinary* last Saturday relate to important re-distributions of territories which at present constitute the Provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam. As these territorial re-distributions have to take effect from the 1st of April next, it has become a matter of extreme urgency to provide for the adaptation and application of the laws in force in those territories. Under the provisions of the Indian Councils Acts, the existing laws continue to remain in force in the newly created Provinces so long as they are not repealed or altered. With a view to make these very laws applicable to the changed conditions created by the said Proclamations, some modifications are necessary merely for the exercise of powers that exist under the different laws in force. The Bill which I am now moving for leave to introduce provides for this and is framed on the lines of the Bengal and Assam Laws Act of 1905. It continues the laws in force in the territories affected by the Proclamations and merely provides for their administration by the new authorities which will come into existence next Monday. The Bill aims at the application of the existing law without making any amendment or alteration of substance. It is obvious that a measure of this kind must receive the sanction of the Legislature before the Proclamations take effect. Under the circumstances, should the motion before the Council be adopted, I shall ask for the provisions of the Bill to be at once taken into consideration with a view to its being passed at to-day's sitting. It is of a purely formal and non-controversial character. In fact, I have excluded, even at the risk of some possible temporary inconvenience, all matters which might lead to controversy and have left them to be dealt with by future legislation. It will be seen therefore that with two small exceptions, to which I will presently call attention, the Bill is no more than a draftsman's Bill.

"Clause 4 of the Bill constitutes a Board of Revenue for the Province of Behar and Orissa. It does no more than place the territories of the new Province on the same footing on which they stand at present under the Bengal Board of Revenue for the purposes of this branch of the administration.

"Clause 7 taken with Schedule E makes certain amendments in Acts which confer immunities or vest functions in authorities now existing in the Province of Bengal. A glance at the Schedules will show that they are so obviously appropriate that I need not take up the time of the Council in explaining or justifying them further.

"The Bill otherwise makes no change in the existing law."

The motion was put and agreed to.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam** introduced the Bill.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam** moved the President to suspend the rules of business to admit of the Bill being taken into consideration.

**The President** declared the rules to be suspended.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam** moved that the Bill be taken into consideration.

**The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu** : "My Lord, with reference to the Bill which has just now been placed before us, there is one question which strikes me. Under clause 4, a new Board of Revenue is going to be created for the Province of Bihar and Orissa, and clause 6 provides that all proceedings which at the commencement of this Act are pending in respect of any territory mentioned in the Schedule shall not be affected by the provisions of the Bill. I take it that the learned Law Member is aware that the entire revenue-administration of the Province of Bihar and Orissa is at the present moment under the control of the Board of Revenue, which is exercising jurisdiction over the old Province of Bengal, and that many matters affecting Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur are pending for final decision before the Board here in respect of which some proceedings have been taken, and there are matters which have been partly heard." Do I understand that section 6 will



## BENGAL, BIHAR AND ASSAM LAWS; BUDGET.

[Babu Bhupendranath Basu; Mr. Syed Ali Imam; [25TH MARCH 1912.]  
Mr. Gokhale.]

protect these proceedings being taken *de novo* before the new Board of Revenue that is going to be created in Bihar, or will they be allowed to be heard by the Board before which they are pending?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam:** "My Lord, section 6 of the Bill provides for this, that any such proceedings as have been referred to, will continue to remain unaffected by this Act, if this Bill is passed into law. And the answer to that question is that there will be no change in respect of those proceedings. Section 4 provides for the creation of a new Board of Revenue for Bihar and Orissa and stands on a separate footing altogether from section 6."

The motion was put and agreed to.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam** moved that the Bill be passed.

The motion was put and agreed to.

## BUDGET FOR 1912-13.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale:** "My Lord, I propose to make a few observations to-day on the general state of our finances, but, before doing that, I would like, with Your Lordship's permission, to make one or two references of a personal nature. My Lord, this is the last time when my Hon'ble friend, Sir James Meston, will sit in this Council, at any rate as Financial Secretary, and I would like to take this opportunity to thank him publicly, and in Your Excellency's presence, for all the valuable assistance which he has uniformly given to non-official members during the last three years. Ever accessible, ever courteous, ever helpful, the Hon'ble Member has enabled many of us to perform our duty in this Council better than we could otherwise have done. He has believed whole-heartedly in the new order inaugurated by the recent reforms; and he has also believed in the capacity of non-official members to rise equal to their new responsibilities. And if this Council has not wholly disappointed expectations, the result, at any rate on the financial side of our discussions, is in no small measure due to the sympathetic and generous attitude of the Hon'ble Member towards us. My Lord, our best wishes accompany Sir James Meston in his new and exalted sphere, and I earnestly trust that, when his five years of office are over, he will return again to this Council as Finance Minister. I think, my Lord, there is a great deal to be said in favour of the view that membership of the Government of India should be the last rung of the official ladder in this country, and that those members of the Civil Service who are marked out for Lieutenant-Governorships should complete their tenure of office as heads of Provinces before they come and join the Viceroy's Executive Council.

"My Lord, I would next like to say a word about my Hon'ble friend, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. We have all heard that he proposes shortly to go on six months' leave to recruit his health, and we all fervently hope that he will come back at the end of that period with his health fully restored and that he will continue to preside over his Department for the full period of his appointment. My Lord, the *personnel* of this Council on its non-official side will have undergone considerable changes before the Hon'ble Member's return, because in the interval there will be a new election, and, while some of us may possibly not want to come back, the constituencies may not want to send some others back, and therefore it would not be inappropriate, if we, non-official members, seek to give brief expression on the present occasion to the great admiration and the very high regard in which we hold Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. My Lord, with his mind saturated with the best traditions of English public life of which he was a close observer for many years, the Hon'ble Member's presence in this Council has been simply invaluable to us at a time when our own tradition is slowly evolving here. We have never found Sir Guy Wilson wrapped up in official reserve. He has often presented new points of view to us and he has himself been always anxious to enter into our feelings and our thoughts. And his delightful and

*BUDGET.*

[25TH MARCH 1912.]

[*Mr. Gokhale*]

high-minded, courtesy has made it a pleasure to have anything to do with him. His great familiarity with the principles of Western finance has enabled him to manage our finances wisely and skilfully, and his attachment to the Gladstonian tradition of economy has left its impress on the administration of this country. In regard to our general affairs too, it is well-known that Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's influence has been strongly on the side of popular progress. My Lord, the country needs men of his type in the Government—men of warm sympathies, of sturdy independence, and deep devotion to its truest and best interests; and once again I earnestly express the hope that Sir Guy will come back fully restored to health and will continue his services to India to the furthest limit of time to which they can be stretched.

“My last word, my Lord, will be about this great and beautiful city. Speaking at the Calcutta Club the other day, Your Lordship expressed the great regret with which you viewed the prospect of this city soon ceasing to be your winter head-quarters in future. May we non-official members of this Council ask to be permitted to respectfully join in that regret! I say nothing on this occasion about the great, the momentous, changes which were announced by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor at Delhi. Looking into the future with the eye of faith and of hope, I do believe that these changes, whatever temporary inconvenience or dislocation they may occasion, will do good in the end both to the Province of Bengal and to the country taken as a whole. But, whatever the future may hold in its womb, the thought that this Council, which has grown from the smallest beginnings to its present dimensions in this city, meets here to-day for the last time, is a thought that must make the heart heavy. My Lord, it is not merely the infinite kindness and hospitality which we members, coming from other Provinces, have always received from the people of Calcutta, it is not merely the friends that we have made here, that we shall miss; it is the entire influence of Calcutta and all that Calcutta stands for that will now be lost to us. Some of us, my Lord, have been coming to this city now for many years,—I for one have come here continuously now for eleven years,—and we have learnt to feel the same enthusiasm for this wonderful land which the people of Bengal feel. Its waving fields, its noble streams, its rich and wonderful vegetation of every kind, throw on us now the same spell that the people of this Province experience, and the warm-heartedness of its society, its culture, its spiritual outlook on life, and the intensity of its national aspiration have produced a deep and abiding impression upon our lives. My Lord, we bid adieu to this city with profound regret, and with every good wish for its continued prosperity that the heart of man can frame. And we fervently trust that, great as has been its past, its future will be even greater.

“My Lord, I will now say a few words on the general state of our finances. We are, as everybody who knows anything about our finances knows, on the eve of a very considerable disturbance in our accepted standards both of revenue and expenditure. There is no question whatever that the financial position of the country, taken as a whole, is both sound and strong; but the fact that we are on the eve of this disturbance makes it necessary that there should be a careful and comprehensive examination of the whole position. On the one side, my Lord, our opium-revenue will soon be extinguished; on the other side, heavy and continuously increasing additions will be necessary to our expenditure, on certain services, specially education and sanitation. Then, my Lord, I hope, I most earnestly hope, that our military expenditure, the burden of which we have so long borne patiently, and which is really far beyond our capacity to bear, will be materially lightened as a result of the labour on which Sir William Nicholson and his Committee will soon enter. I therefore suggest that this is just the juncture when a comprehensive inquiry into the whole financial position may be undertaken by a strong Royal Commission. There are three outstanding features of the position. A top-heavy administration, much too costly for our resources, a crushing weight of military burdens, and a scheme of taxation which, though not much more



## BUDGET.

[Mr. Gokhale.]

[25TH MARCH 1912.]

burdensome in its total incidence than in other countries, presses much more heavily on the poorer than on the middle and the upper classes of the community. These are the outstanding features of our financial position. India, it must always be borne in mind, is a very poor country and the largest revenue that we can possibly raise must be small, judged by the standards of the West. The question, therefore, as to how to adjust our revenue to our growing requirements in certain directions is one of prime importance. My Lord, I, for one, shall be glad when our opium-revenue disappears; not only because I feel it to be a stain on us, but also because its presence in an uncertain state is very inconvenient from the standpoint of economy. The uncertainty that invests it is a great disturbing factor in our budget, and the large surpluses which it brings to the Government, however convenient they may be for certain purposes, cannot but be demoralizing in their effect on economy, because the strongest Finance Minister, with the utmost insistence that he can lay on rigid economy, cannot resist a certain amount of wasteful expenditure in the presence of such large surpluses. When the opium-revenue disappears—and I understand that it will not take long now before it disappears—we shall be in a position to know where exactly we stand, and then it is that certain questions will require to be taken into serious and careful consideration, so that a definite financial policy may be laid down for the country which should be adhered to in all essentials, independently of the particular views or inclinations of individual Finance Members. The questions that require specially to be considered are how to readjust our old taxation so that its incidence should press less severely on certain classes—the poorest classes of the country; how to widen, if necessary, the present basis of taxation so that more money may be found for education, sanitation, and similar services; in what directions expenditure must be kept down, and in what directions expenditure must be increased. We want an enquiry into these things by a strong Commission so that the future may be shaped in accordance with a definite policy laid down, after taking a comprehensive view of the whole question. For instance, my Lord, I hold that we can raise much larger revenue than we do at present from our Customs without its proving burdensome to any section of the community. The possibility of raising revenue from certain sources, which at present yield nothing, must also be publicly examined. Then there is the question of reducing the State demand on land, especially in raiyatwari tracts, and the extension of the permanent settlement to areas where it does not at present exist, subject to the condition that agricultural incomes above a certain minimum should be liable to pay the income-tax. There is also the question as to how larger recurring grants for local bodies may be provided so that they should be better able than at present to perform their duties satisfactorily, and how provision may be made for steadily expanding allotments to education, sanitation and medical relief. I therefore urge that when the opium-revenue is about to disappear, the occasion should be utilized to appoint a strong Royal Commission to consider the whole subject of the basis of our taxation and the probable future course of our expenditure. One important reason why such an inquiry is necessary is the extreme rapidity with which the *personnel* of the Government changes in this country. A Finance Minister, or any other member of Government, holds office for only five years; he takes some time to make himself acquainted with the problems of his department or the state of things in the country, and by the time he is in a position to handle important questions well, the time also comes for him to think of leaving. If members of Government were to remain in this country after their retirement, the knowledge and experience which they acquired in their respective offices, would still be available to us. What happens at present is that every successor has to begin not where his predecessor ended but his predecessor also began, and thus a large amount of most useful and necessary knowledge is repeatedly lost and has to be repeatedly acquired over and over again, with the result that we seem to be living more or less from hand to mouth, and without a large settled policy adopted as a result of wide and thorough knowledge and ample discussion.

## BUDGET.

[25TH MARCH 1912.]

[Mr. Gokhale; Mr. Dadabhoy.]

"I, therefore urge, my Lord, that when the opium-revenue is about to be extinguished, as we understand it will soon be, the Government should take steps to appoint a Royal Commission so that the whole financial position of the country may be carefully examined."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy: "My Lord, a 'No-change' budget, as the Finance Minister characterises the one under review, does not call for much comment. Two observations made by the Finance Minister in introducing it on the 1st March current are, however, important. The necessity of the recent addition to taxation is apparently problematical, but it is confidently stated that 'time will justify' the taxes, 'when our opium-revenue ultimately dwindles and our other resources are strained by the growing demand for more schools and healthier homes.' It is perhaps claiming too much for them that, besides recouping the complete loss of the opium-revenue, they would place adequate funds at the disposal of Government for meeting the educational and sanitary needs of the country. But one thing is clear. The prospective loss of the opium-revenue is a dark cloud on our horizon, and the necessity for an appeal to the Home Government for a substantial contribution is as acute as ever. We have moved this Government more than once on the subject, and we would have been glad to have from them a pronouncement as to the course they intend to pursue."

"The other proposition of the Finance Minister that in India the line between plenty and want is very narrow and 'the need for caution in our forecasts and for economy in our expenditure' is incessant, true as it is, is hardly compatible with the expenditure in connection with the expedition against the Abors and the friendly mission to the Mishmi country. According to the map given in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, both the Abors and the Mishmis live beyond India and their country is included in Tibet. The policy perhaps we are not free to discuss in this Council, but we certainly can complain of the cost. If the expedition and the mission be for the protection of Imperial interests, as they must be, in fairness the expenditure should be charged to the Home Government. Then, a full and clear explanation regarding the 2½ lakhs of rupees spent out of Indian revenues in meeting a part of 'the cost of sending a regiment to strengthen the consular guards in Southern Persia' and the expenditure of 18 lakhs during the year in 'the arms traffic operations,' is necessary. These latter operations have so far cost India a little over 51 lakhs of rupees. A part of the operations would appear to have been carried on in the Persian Gulf. If the above amount includes any part of the cost of it, the justification of the expenditure is not clear."

"Heretical though the view may be, in my humble opinion, a modification of the principle of 'lapse' in accounts would appear to be desirable in India. Schemes of improvement, large and small, are awaiting execution, and the progress, in the generality of cases, is only limited by the funds which the Government finds it convenient to allot. It also happens at times that the amount sanctioned in any particular year is not fully spent through the supervention of adventitious circumstances. The unspent balance, according to the rules, lapses at the end of the year, and goes either to swell the surplus or to reduce the deficit. The next year's sanction depends upon a host of considerations unconnected with the closing year's history, and allowance is not made for the lapsed grant. This is hardly satisfactory. No doubt, according to article 293 of the Civil Account Code, Volume I, the grant so lapsed could be revived by specific sanction; but this is rarely done. In the Military Department, the usual practice, I understand, is for the subsequent year's allotment to be proportionately increased without a specific revival of the lapsed grant. A similar relaxation of the rules would be welcome in the other departments. Progress would be accelerated in that way."

"My Lord, administration of impartial justice is one of the bulwarks of British rule in India. Government cannot be over-careful in that line. But with the growth of judicial work with time quickness in disposal has naturally come to animate the policy of the department. Complaints from the litigant public of quality being sacrificed to quantity are not unusual, and the grievance



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is felt the more in that second appeals are restricted. The ideal ought to be, and is, to combine despatch with patient hearing. This can be done by increasing the strength of the judicial service. During the 51 years between 1856 and 1907, civil litigation increased nearly 256 per cent., the total number of suits in the latter year being 1,867,995 against 730,000 in the former. But there has not been a proportionate increase in the strength of the service. This is a direction in which improvement is desirable.

"The appointment of trained and practising lawyers as District and Sessions Judges is also a necessity which is becoming more clamant with greater diffusion of knowledge among the people of the systems of recruitment prevalent in the advanced countries of the West. The time has gone by when, owing to political reasons and the absence of trained lawyers, the superior ranks of the Judicial Service had to be reserved for the members of the Imperial Civil Service. Simultaneously with the success of Indian lawyers in the highest judicial posts the office of the District and Sessions Judge has lost much of its charm for the Civil Service, and it is patent to all that the best men of that service do not evince any particular desire to adopt the judicial career. Three years ago, in January 1909, in reply to a question of mine in Council, Government were pleased to announce their preparedness to appoint trained lawyers as Judicial Commissioners and Additional Judicial Commissioners as occasion arose. Such appointments were subsequently made in Oudh and elsewhere. It was further understood that the question of the appointment of trained and practising lawyers as District and Sessions Judges would be considered afterwards. I understand the subject is receiving the attention of Government. My only point now is that any correspondence which may pass on the subject between this Government and the Secretary of State should be placed on the table, with the object of enabling Hon'ble Members to submit their views on the issues raised, as also on the particular reform proposed by Government.

"My Lord, in order to relieve the congestion of judicial business on the civil side the suggestion has been now and again made that honorary village munsifs should be appointed for the disposal of suits of small value in the same way as honorary magistrates. The experiment might be tried, if retired judicial officers and lawyers can be induced to take up the work. The honorary magistracy has developed remarkably with a total strength of 3,000 incumbents in 1910 as against 'an honorary magistrate here or there' fifty years previously. Honorary village munsifs might not be unpopular with the safeguard suggested above. Provision might also be made for the submission by them to stipendiary judicial officers of questions of law for opinion.

"But, in my opinion, the establishment of Arbitration Courts, composed of honorary Judges, would be far more satisfactory. At first reference to them of pending suits might be left optional with the parties, and afterwards, when the people come to have confidence in them, such reference might be made at the discretion of the regular Courts. The personnel of the Arbitration Courts may be settled in consultation with the people. The office can with advantage be made elective.

"The development of the elective system in the country demands the creation of Election Courts for the speedy disposal of election disputes, with powers similar to those enjoyed by Courts of that class in England. It is now open to an aggrieved candidate to seek his remedy in the Civil Court under the Specific Relief Act, but the lengthy procedure of the ordinary Civil Court makes the remedy unreal. I humbly submit a special Court for the trial of election disputes will be far more effective and will inspire greater confidence among the people. There should also be a more stringent law regarding elections generally on the same lines as the English law.

"Last year, my Lord, I invited the attention of Government to the congestion of work in the Judicial Commissioner's Court at Nagpur, in consequence of the provision in the amended Central Provinces Civil Courts Act for the hearing of appeals of over Rs. 10,000 in value by benches of two Judges as in High Courts and Chief Courts, and to the necessity of the appoint-

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ment of a fourth Judge. The subject has not received at the hands of Government the favourable consideration it deserves. No provision has been made for the creation of the post. Meanwhile the congestion continues. A reference to the Local Government will show this. May I express the hope that Government will be pleased to provide for the appointment of a third Additional Judicial Commissioner for the Central Provinces in the course of the next year?

"My Lord, the efforts of the Government to meet the educational needs of the country are fully appreciated, and the announcement made by Your Excellency at the last Convocation of the Calcutta University that 'the Government of India have decided to make a solid advance in the direction of teaching and residential universities' has filled us with hope. We in the Central Provinces feel the want of such a university. As a humble representative of the Province, I beg to move the Government for the establishment at an early date of a teaching university at Nagpur.

"The intellectual improvement of the Indian youth is a great object which the Government has very properly set in the forefront of its reforming programme. The reclamation of misguided young offenders is an equally noble object. On a recent occasion I had to refer to the successful efforts made in the West in this behalf. I submit, my Lord, the time has come when this Government should make an equally earnest attempt at reclamation by 'specialisation and individualisation' such as underlie the Borstal system of prison discipline. The chief merit of that system is that the youth is not treated as a criminal, and it seeks to—

'combine strict discipline with moral and religious training, and generous rewards for growth in self-control and progress in handicrafts, physical exercise and education.'

"The cost is much larger than in the ordinary prison, it is true, but it is a good investment from the national point of view. It has been remarked by high authorities that 'the danger is greater in Indian prisons of moral contamination due to the lack of special accommodation.' The necessity of special treatment is thus all the greater here. Reformatories exist, no doubt; but how many young offenders pass through them? It must be admitted that reclamation is attempted in the West in a highly scientific way which provides an object-lesson for us. The Borstal system, according to expert opinion, can be very easily applied to India provided special accommodation and funds are available.

"My Lord, the dissemination of up-to-date knowledge in the industrial arts is another direction which provides ample scope for Government activity. Government must be alive to its necessity. The Indian has now to seek the special knowledge abroad, but there too, owing to the nervousness and exclusiveness of the Western manufacturers, facilities are few. The correspondence between this Government and the Secretary of State on the subject of instruction in glass-making must have impressed Government with the necessity of making suitable arrangements in India for the technical and industrial training of the people. The letter to the Secretary of State of the London Board of Education, of 27th January 1911, exposes the difficulties of the present position. The Board point out:—

'No English manufacturers would think of admitting Indian students temporarily to their works. . . . The Educational Adviser to Indian students has suggested to the Board that German firms are sometimes willing to admit Indian students on condition that the students when they return to India act as agents in that country for the goods of the firm concerned.'

"The inquiry is legitimate as to the Government decision on the Board's suggestion that the appointment of

'competent instructors under suitable conditions of service, either from this country, from the Continent, or from the United States of America . . . will prove a better way of developing the glass-making industry in India.'

"In this connection it is gratifying to learn that the Punjab Government has decided to help the Ambala Glass Works with annual subventions for a



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period of five years. It is not so much for the particular industry supported as for the departure the action marks in the policy of Government that the occasion is important. I earnestly hope the Government of India will be pleased to systematise advances and subsidies to well-managed Indian manufacturing concerns which may be languishing for financial support. The money will be well spent.

"Equally reassuring is the news that an expert has been deputed to the United Provinces for investigating into the condition of the local sugar industry. This is a right move and full of great possibilities. The Indian sugar industry requires nursing. The people should now respond cordially to the Government effort.

"My Lord, I have before now drawn the attention of this Government to the existence of heavy import-duties upon Indian manufactures in the United States of America. To take two instances. An *ad valorem* duty of 15 per cent. is charged upon tanned or dressed goat and sheep skins imported from India, while raw hides are imported free. Upon Indian carpets and rugs the duty is 50 per cent. *ad valorem*! Such heavy duties are clearly protective. And yet we have to keep our doors open. I understand the whole question of American import-duties at present forms the subject of diplomatic discussion between the United Kingdom and the United States of America. I humbly submit the occasion should be availed of to secure an adequate reduction in the duties upon Indian manufactures.

"I will now advert to a deficiency in the management of the great State industry—the Railways. The Hon'ble the Finance Minister remarks: 'The passenger traffic has grown exceedingly.' But in the Budget estimate of 1912-1913, according to his statement,

'Provision for working expenses has also been put a little higher on account of necessary renewals of permanent-way, rolling-stock and strengthening of bridges.'

"On 8th instant the Hon'ble Sir T. Wynne, ever ready to meet the wishes of the people, informed us that a sum of 475 lakhs, set aside for rolling-stock, 'will provide 182 locomotives and 6,100 goods wagons.' An adequate number of additional carriages is apparently not provided. Indian passengers, especially the lower class passengers who contribute the largest amount to the railway income, justly claim a more liberal provision in this respect. Their comfort must be looked to by the railway authorities.

"The most refreshing part of the Financial Statement is the record of the progress in Irrigation. The allotments made in next year's budget for the execution of all the three projects—the Tendula, Mahanadi and Wainganga Canals—afford genuine cause for satisfaction to the people of the Central Provinces.

"My Lord, according to the testimony of independent witnesses, the Punjab Canal Colonies have amply justified the expectations of Government. Government might well be congratulated upon the scheme. Quite a million men have been removed from congested areas to two millions acres of irrigated land, and that within the brief space of 12 years. The plan, in my humble opinion, should be extended to the other Provinces. There is need for this sort of activity in the Central Provinces.

"My Lord, we have now come to a turning-point in British Indian history; to-day we come to the end of a chapter in British Indian history, the close of a brilliant record of steady expansion, of slow evolution and of sustained effort at consolidation. After 150 years of vigorous government India emerges unified, compact and strong, yearning after new life, throbbing with the pulsations of new thought and new aspirations. She stands purified, with the touch of her lord. HOPE is written large on her horizon. Anarchy and sedition, disorder and turbulence have skulked before the Royal Presence. Their Imperial Majesties' Visit has stirred to its inmost depths the great heart of the nation, and has communicated a soothing and dynamic force to discontented and dull India. The Durbar boons, thanks to Your Excellency's wise counsel and statesman-like perception of the needs of the situation, have conciliated educated India. Now begins an era of peace and concord, of intellectual and moral progress, of healthy co-operation between the rulers and the ruled.

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"I wish to say, my Lord, before I resume my seat, that I associate myself with the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in what he said with reference to the Hon'ble the Finance Minister."

**The Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey :** "My Lord, I cordially endorse every word that has been said by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale in appreciation of the excellent services rendered by our friend the Hon'ble Sir James Meston to this Council. We all wish him Godspeed and a great success in his new position."

"Coming to the Budget, I beg to congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Member on the very satisfactory Financial Statement which he has presented to us. We are obliged to him for his kind reference in his speech, while presenting the Financial Statement, to our friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and for the terms in which he has officially appreciated the valuable work done by him in this Council during the long period of his membership. We, the non-official members, take this as a great compliment paid to all non-official members of Your Lordship's Council. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has served in this Council for continuously over 12 years, and I am sure everyone of us here present, official and non-official, will agree with me when I say that in the success—the great admitted success—of the working of this expanded Council during the last three years, no small share has been contributed by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale who is respected alike by the officials and non-officials. The breadth of mind shown by the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson reminds me of the liberal-mindedness which we see so often in the House of Commons when Ministers on the Government bench appreciate in official documents the services of the members sitting on the opposite bench. I join in the hope expressed by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale that after his holiday the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson will return to this Council with renewed vigour and take up his portfolio which he has filled with such ability to the entire satisfaction of all concerned."

"As to the Budget, I must admit that the Hon'ble the Finance Member has shown great judgment in distributing a substantial portion of last year's surplus among several useful objects. While I appreciate what has been done for us in this direction, I once more beg to raise my voice against the policy adopted by the Hon'ble Member two years ago of taxing the people more than the circumstances would justify. In March 1910, we, the non-official members, strongly protested against the levying of new taxes and proved by facts and figures that the revenue budget for 1910-11 was under-estimated. The time that has since elapsed has established the absolute correctness of our contention. I maintain, my Lord, that the additional taxes then imposed were not necessary, and even the budget of 1912-13, in spite of the liberal extra grants to Provincial Governments, might have been framed without a deficit, in the absence of additional taxes. I hope, my Lord, that this will serve as a lesson for the future, and though we have had to pay dearly for it, it will have been usefully learnt, if it prevents a recurrence of similar action on the part of Government. After all, the views of those who are of the people and move among them and have practical experience of the daily life of the country are entitled to receive greater consideration in such matters than was shown on that occasion."

"My Lord, I do not wish to speak at any great length to-day, but there is one subject to which I wish to invite the attention of this Council, namely, the method of assessing factories for the purposes of income-tax in the different Provinces and the injustice involved in it. In reply to a question by my Hon'ble friend Sir Sassoon David last year, Government was pleased to lay before this Council a statement showing the percentage allowed in different Provinces for depreciation on machinery and buildings in ascertaining the 'net profits of factories for income-tax purposes, and the method by which the capital cost is estimated in each case. This statement, as I will presently proceed to show, places the factories of one Province at a disadvantage compared with those of another Province. In Bengal and East Bengal and Assam, a deduction of five per cent. is allowed both on machinery and buildings, while in Bombay a deduction of five per cent. is allowed only on machinery, and that too after deducting the allowance made in previous years, and no deduction is allowed on buildings,



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although the Bombay Millowners' Association often protested against this invidious treatment. But since this statement was laid on the table and a respectful protest was made to the Government of India, the Government of India, in their letter dated the 18th January last, only two months ago, intimated to the Bombay Millowners' Association that in future the Local Government would have no objection to allowing a deduction of 2½ per cent. on the value of buildings properly defined. They further intimated in their said letter that the Government of India did not think it advisable to standardise the method of income-tax assessment in view of the varying local circumstances obtaining in each Province. My Lord, this is a most unsatisfactory reply to a very reasonable request of the Bombay Millowners' Association contained in their letter of the 9th May 1911, that whatever the system of assessment is ultimately adopted by the Government of India, it should be standardised throughout India, if not for all kinds of factories, at least all textile factories. I am afraid the Government of India have not seriously considered the consequences and the injustice that are entailed by this want of uniformity. All factories in India are governed by the same law and in these days of keen competition, when the profits of the industry are low and sometimes there is an actual loss, any favour shown to the industries of one Province places the industries of the other Provinces at a disadvantage in the consuming market. My Lord, what justification can the Government of India show for the anomalies contained in the statement I have referred to? Owing to the value of land being high, the mills in Bombay are built two, three, and four-storeys high, while the factories in Calcutta are mostly shed buildings of only the ground floor. Would it be reasonable to suppose that the four-storeyed buildings of the mills of Bombay, having heavy machinery working on the upper floors, often of wood, would last double the number of years that the ground floor buildings of Calcutta factories would last? And yet in the Government of India letter we are asked to accept as reasonable half the amount allowed to the Calcutta millowners. Again, in Bombay, for machinery depreciation, allowances for previous years are taken into account in the calculation, while in all other Provinces they are not. Here again the Government of India in reply said that they did not see any injustice in that method of calculation. Would it be reasonable to suppose that the machinery working in Bombay, the greater portion of which is worked on upper floors where the liability to wear and tear is necessarily greater owing to the impossibility of preventing vibration on these floors, would last longer than the machinery worked on the solid ground floor of Calcutta mills? And yet this is what it comes to, if you accept the existing method of fixing the basis for income-tax purposes in Bombay and Bengal. In Madras a maximum of 10 per cent. on the value of machinery is allowed to be deducted. Surely the life of machinery in Bombay cannot be said to be double that of the same kind of machinery working in Madras. The factory owners of the United Provinces, our friends, the Cawnpore millowners, are certainly very happy people, because there, the statement says, that though as a general rule five per cent. on the cost of machinery is allowed, that rule is not invariably followed, meaning perhaps that extra deductions over five per cent. are made when millowners properly approach the department concerned. There, too, the peculiar method of taking into account the depreciation allowances of previous years, which is in vogue in Bombay, is not at all followed. My Lord, I hope I have clearly proved to this Council that the present practice is most unjust to the factory owners of certain Provinces, inasmuch as it hands them over, in the absence of a definite Imperial policy, to the mercy of assessing officers. In reply to the letter of the Bombay Millowners' Association dated the 20th February 1912 (only a month ago), again requesting the Government of India to standardise throughout the country whatever system of assessment is ultimately adopted, the Government of India said, as recently as the 12th of this month, that the millowners should address the Local Government concerned. May I ask the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department, how the Local Government can standardise the method of assessment throughout India?

"My Lord, for years past the millowners of Bombay Presidency have been suffering under this disadvantage in competition with our friends in the other

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Provinces; and every opportunity has been taken advantage of to put our grievances before the proper authorities. We have written to the Income-tax Collector, have waited upon him in deputation, have respectfully represented our grievances to the Local Government, we have petitioned the Government of India in the past, and the last occasion on which we addressed them was on the 20th February of this year; and to-day, at the special request of the Bombay Millowners' Association, I, as their representative, bring forward this grievance before this Council, the highest deliberative assembly in the land. The only step that now remains to be taken is to bring forward a Resolution on this subject in this Council, and I propose to bring forward such a Resolution on a future occasion unless our grievance is set right in the interval.

"My Lord, before I conclude, I should like to express our sense of deep gratitude to Your Lordship for the care which has been taken in consulting our convenience, in arranging the sessions of this Council this year. We have gone through a large amount of work during this cold weather with a minimum of inconvenience to the members coming here from long distances. The present arrangement, while it has met with the unanimous approval of those of us who have other avocations of life but are at the same time willing to serve their country, has also I believe met with the approval of members like my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, whose sole laudable ambition is to serve the country at any sacrifice. The details of the arrangement have been excellently carried out by the Legislative Department, for which great credit is due to it."

**The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan :** "My Lord, it is a prosperity Budget that we have to deal with to-day, and I offer to my esteemed friend, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, my heartiest congratulations for having had such a windfall in a year of abnormal expenditure like 1911, during which the long looked-for Royal Visit came off so successfully. While on the subject of the Royal Visit, permit me, as one of the inhabitants of Bengal, to offer to Your Lordship the heartfelt gratitude of myself and my fellow-inhabitants in this Province for the unique favour granted to us by the Royal Presence of the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress in Calcutta. The great and good effect of the Royal Visit to India I need not dilate upon, as it has been appreciated all over the country by every section of the community; but I take this opportunity of congratulating Your Lordship on the success of the great Durbar at Delhi and the Royal Visit to Calcutta, and I am sure that along with the name of our beloved Sovereign King-Emperor George V, Your Excellency's name will also go down to posterity for having organized this visit which has already had far-reaching beneficial results. Considering the grand and unique occasion of the Royal Delhi Durbar of 1911, it was most satisfactory to learn from the Hon'ble the Finance Minister the other day that the expenditure had been kept well within the estimated figures.

"Now, my Lord, I shall make some observations on certain items of expenditure in the Budget, also on the objects for which they are to be spent. First and foremost in the present Budget, we find the large educational grants which to all of us interested in the advancement of India have been most welcome. The handsome grants towards the spread of primary education are most praiseworthy, but I hope, Sir, that this money will be spent with a certain amount of caution, and that there may not be a repetition of the fact that was brought to light in some parts of Bengal, namely, that large sums were spent on school buildings in rural areas, but that those buildings have either been left unfinished or unused for the want of teachers or students to fill them. As I have already said on the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Primary Education Bill, which I had unfortunately to oppose and which was thrown out by this Council only a few days ago, India is not yet ready for compulsory primary education, nor is it a wise policy to force education among the illiterate masses in a manner that might seem to them not only unnecessary but arbitrary, and might be further misconstrued as being an uncalled-for solicitude on the part of the Government. They have got to be educated: but let that education come as a beacon-



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light and not as an overpowering glare confusing the very minds we wish to enlighten. The Hon'ble Member for Education, while speaking in the second stage of the Budget, mentioned the amount of the provision he had made for the proposed university at Dacca. A good deal of bitter criticism has been offered towards the formation of the Dacca University, and I believe that the way it was necessary for the scheme to see the light of day opened the door for such comments; but I must admit that many of the arguments put forward in the Press against this scheme have struck me as being very much off the mark. I have nothing to say against the proposed Dacca University scheme, but I hope that as hitherto we have been accustomed to have degree-giving universities and not teaching universities, and as it is the intention of the Government to multiply the number of universities in India and to make them less cumbersome than they are at present, and to make the new universities really educating institutions, and as we have, as citizens of the Indian Empire, a right to be consulted by the Government before they push on a new policy which, I frankly admit, has a great deal in its favour, the Government will see the necessity of inviting public discussion on the subject of the utility and importance of teaching universities generally. The present policy of having a large number of universities was foreshadowed by Lord Curzon when he presided over the Educational Conference at Simla some years ago now, as well as on the 2nd November 1903, when the Universities Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council and the Viceroy in the course of the debate said, 'to show the way by which our universities, which are now merely examining boards, can ultimately be converted into teaching universities, in fact to convert higher education in India into a reality instead of a sham.' These weighty words of Lord Curzon are now being translated into action by Your Lordship's Government. But while welcoming this movement, I feel that the Government should convince the general public that the time has come to crystallize the ideas set forth in the Universities Reform Scheme of 1904.

"Now I turn towards the provisions made in the Budget for medical relief and sanitation. I listened to the Hon'ble Surgeon General Sir Pardy Lukis's speech in Council the other day with the greatest interest, and it is most gratifying to know that the Government intend to combat malaria in right earnest, and that experiments how best to fight our obnoxious friend, the mosquito, who is also present in the Imperial Council, will be thought and carried out at no distant date. A word of thanks, my Lord, for granting Calcutta a Tropical School of Medicine, and I hope that in the next year's budget Bengal will be given large grants for tuberculosis hospitals, as that disease is increasing every year.

"My Lord, I next turn to the large amount we are going to spend in building the new seat of the Imperial Government at Delhi. Delhi has hereto meant to most of us a phantasmagoria of past glories of a doubtful character. But now it will mean something serious to us, something substantial to us; for, on the advice of Your Lordship's Government and the Secretary of State for India, our Sovereign has declared that Delhi should henceforth be the Imperial capital. Sir Louis Dane, on the day of the laying of the foundation-stone of new Delhi by the King-Emperor, said words to this effect, that Delhi had regained what she had lost, alluding to the fact of its having been made the capital of India again. We know that Delhi has gained, but I hope not in the sense that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab meant. Let us not lay too much stress on the fact of Delhi's having been the past capital of India, for it was never the capital of India in the sense that we, under British rule, have begun to realize what India means. It is true some sort of Delhi was the capital of the Kauravas and the Pandavas; it is true, round about Delhi, Hindu kings, whose jurisdictions were limited, had their capitals: it is true that the capital of the most bigoted Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb and his weak-minded successors was Delhi: but may I ask, is it not equally true that the Moghul Empire in India never extended to the limits that British India extends? For the above reasons I say, let us brush aside the allusions to these past capitals of sombre associations, and let us rather advocate the fact that since, according to the Government of India

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despatch, Calcutta has become 'geographically unsuited' to be any longer the capital of British India, and since the Government of India feel that it is prejudicial for a Provincial Governor and a Viceroy to live side by side in Calcutta, and since our King-Emperor has ordained that Delhi is to be the new capital of British India, it has become imperative to rear up an Imperial capital in every sense of the term, wiping away and uprooting the demoralizing atmosphere of the latter-day Moghul Delhi, of the Delhi of the Mutiny days, and establish a new city reproducing within its walls the best principles of British rule, fostering healthy public opinion in it (for, unsurrounded by such opinion, the Government of India will be in a very perilous position), and showing in every possible way that the change is good for the British rule in India, which is our mainstay. When all this is accomplished, the Government will have amply justified the expenditure it is now incurring on building new Delhi and deserved the approbation of all, even of those who have withstood their support.

"My Lord, although it is rather out of place in the Budget debate, yet I cannot help saying something on the changes announced at Delhi so far as Bengal is concerned, especially the creation of a Governor in Council for the Bengal Presidency; but before I allude to this, I feel that I must say a few words regarding the necessity of evicting the Punjab Government from Simla. In the despatch of August 25th, 1911, the Government of India say: 'It is essential that the Supreme Government should not be associated with any particular Provincial Government. It is generally recognised that the capital of a great Central Government should be separate and independent.' As this is the view of the Government of India, I am simply asking them to be consistent. I would say most emphatically that as Simla is the summer capital of the Government of India as well as of the Punjab, the Punjab Government should not, for the reasons laid down in the despatch, be at Simla for nearly seven months in the year, at a time when the Government of India is also there for the same period. Although I am the descendant of a Punjabi family myself, yet I feel that in all fairness to the other Provinces, as well as for the sake of consistency, the Government of India should remove the summer seat of the Punjab Government from Simla.

"Now, my Lord, I come to the creation of a Governor in Council for Bengal which I have welcomed, and for which I will now briefly give my reasons. My Lord, it is true that I supported Lord Curzon's Partition scheme, and it is equally true that I sincerely regret that it has had to be undone: but with awakened China on our North-Eastern Frontier and an awakening Behar on the West, and considering that we are going to have a Governor in Council, I say let us cheerfully accept the new arrangement. My Lord, if the removal of the Viceregal presence from Calcutta connotes the development of the autonomy of Bengal, it will mean a great deal. The appointment of Lord Carmichael as our first Governor is an event that we in Bengal cannot pass over silently, and we are very grateful to Your Lordship for having given us such a tried and experienced servant of the Crown to be the first Governor of new Bengal. Madras's loss is Bengal's gain, and while we sympathise with our Madras friends at losing Lord Carmichael, we welcome His Lordship here; for we feel sure that we shall have a tried statesman at the head of affairs, and one who has already endeared himself to Indians within the short period of his rule in Madras. My Lord, while on this subject, I cannot help saying that the Government of India, now that they have, from their standpoint, done what they have thought best and most beneficial to Bengal, will I hope be pleased to remember that in this Presidency we want always as rulers the best and most trustworthy servants of the Crown, and not merely party politicians; and if this is borne in mind and carried into action, as in the appointment of Lord Carmichael, I am sure that time will justify Your Lordship's repartition of Bengal, although some of us may resent it just now.

"An Executive Council for Behar strikes me as being an extravagant luxury, for the present at any rate, but all the same I congratulate my Behari friends on having scored best in the Delhi Boons, and sincerely wish them all success in the new Province and under the new régime. Doubts have been expressed



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as to the wisdom of the addition of Orissa and Chota Nagpur to Behar, particularly Orissa, and I admit I share those doubts myself. But I trust that the interests of the people of these parts will be properly safeguarded in the new Province, and I hope that the new Province with its four agrarian codes and heterogeneous population will administratively be the success which it is expected to be.

"In conclusion, my Lord, as you will be leaving Calcutta before long, never again to reside here permanently, as a citizen of Calcutta, as well as a representative of the landholders of Bengal, I beg, in bidding you good-bye, to assure Your Lordship, on behalf of the community I represent, our deep-felt loyalty to the Crown, and I hope that Your Excellency will not forget the zamindars in this Province, who, although few in number and in the minority, deserve encouragement and preservation, and who, if given proper facilities, will not belie the trust hitherto reposed in them by the Imperial Government.

"A few more words and I am done. My Lord, this is the last session of the Imperial Council in Calcutta, and as a Bengal member I share the keen regret that we feel at realizing that we shall henceforth be deprived of having in our midst the high officials of the Government of India and the representatives of British India. I also take this opportunity of thanking the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale for his kind words about Calcutta. My Lord, I know the changes have been made with the best of intentions, and although we in Bengal feel we have paid a big price for our Governorship, yet, if our loss means a gain to the rest of India, it is our patriotic duty to bear the sacrifice; and from the bottom of my heart I wish Your Lordship Godspeed in the great and bold experiment, and hope its success will mean the dawn of a new era of prosperity to the motherland so very dear to us all."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao :** "My Lord, I may be permitted to say that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has well and truly and without the slightest exaggeration voiced our feelings when he expressed our warm appreciation of the sympathetic and friendly attitude of the Hon'ble Sir James Meston and the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson towards the non-official members of this Council.

"I take this opportunity of expressing our satisfaction that the Hon'ble the Finance Minister has been able to see his way to abolish, though gradually, the proprietary estates village service cess in Madras which my Hon'ble friend, the Raja of Kurupam, and myself urged on the Government in the very first session of the Council.

"My Lord, in introducing the Financial Statement, the Hon'ble Finance Minister referred in appropriate terms to the Royal Visit just concluded and also to the estimated expenditure and the savings effected in that connection. In our view, my Lord, the value of the Royal Visit cannot be estimated in lakhs or crores of rupees. As described by Your Lordship so truly and aptly, it is 'a priceless incident in the history of India.' The message sent through Your Lordship by the princes and the people of India to the people of England testifies to the profound impression made on the people of this country by the King-Emperor and shows how deeply they appreciate the recognition by His Majesty of their status as his equal subjects with the British. Never, before, my Lord, was the enthusiasm of the people stirred to such depths and the bonds that unite England and India drawn closer than on this occasion. They are touched by the abiding solicitude evinced by His Majesty for the welfare of all classes of people in this country. They cherish with reverence the gracious message of hope and harmony which he delivered for the future development of this land. They treasure with affection the words of His Gracious Majesty—

'It is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with what follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort and of health.'

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[*Mr. Subba Rao.*]

"Next to the Great Proclamation of 1858, this historic event marks an important era in the annals of this ancient land. It is associated with important administrative changes planned with great foresight and courageous statesmanship. As a sequence of these changes, 'the greatest blunder since the battle of Plassey,' in the words of Lord Macdonnell, has been rectified, and the great wrong done to the people of Bengal righted.

"My Lord, the intelligent public had long been asking that the Government of India should lay down before them a definite goal in the government of the country, instead of pursuing a shifting policy of drift, and hoped that the advent of the King-Emperor would be associated with such an announcement. The people at large have therefore welcomed the policy intimately associated with the change of capital from Calcutta, notwithstanding the clamour of vested interests. As a first and necessary step in the onward path of self-government, they have welcomed the announcement contained in the despatch of Your Lordship's Government in which they point out that—

'It is certain that in course of time the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be, how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the authority of the Governor General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of Administrations autonomous in all Provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern. In order that this consummation may be attained, it is essential that the Supreme Government should not be associated with any particular Provincial Government. The removal of the Government of India is, therefore, a measure which will, in our opinion, materially facilitate the growth of local self-government on sound and safe lines.'

"There is absolutely no ground, my Lord, for apprehension that the result of this policy 'can only be to lead through disruption to disaster,' as prophesied by Lord Curzon. The connection of Britain is so beneficial and necessary to this country that it is the ambition of India to grow under the ægis of Britain to a self-governing member of the British Empire, like the colonies. There is absolutely no cause to attempt to wriggle out this position so clearly defined. This is but a bare minimum of the immediate requirements of the country for its healthy and progressive development in the future.

"It is because this first step in the direction of popular autonomy is courageously laid down by the Government of India that the transfer to Delhi, however disadvantageous and however costly, is welcomed by the intelligent public in all parts of the country, even by distant Madras, which is now further removed from the new capital. We hope, my Lord, that this policy will be steadily and courageously pursued by the Government of India.

"Already, my Lord, attempts are made in some Provinces not to bring some of the items in the Provincial Budget under the scrutiny of Provincial Legislative Councils and carry out the intentions of the Government of India, who point out in the Resolution of the 15th November 1909 that 'members will in future take a real and active part in shaping the financial proposals of the year.' Thus some items are not allowed to be examined by the Legislative Council, as in Madras, when the Finance Committee meets or when the Financial Statement is discussed, on the ground that they are under correspondence with the Government of India or the Secretary of State. So also items entered in the revised budget estimates escape the scrutiny of the Council. Similarly, the details of the expenditure of the large sums of money placed at the disposal of Provincial Governments under the head of Education and Sanitation do not pass under the review of the Legislative Council. I urge that these sums should not be handed over to Provincial Governments until definite proposals approved by local Legislative Councils are placed before the Education Department. I submit, my Lord, that opportunity should be taken, when revising the regulations and rules under the Councils Act, to remove all doubts, so that Legislative Councils may have full powers to deal with all the items in the Budget.

"I shall now turn to that large and important department of the State, the Army, which costs us something like thirty crores of rupees, and over which



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His Excellency Sir O'Moore Creagh presides with such distinction. I may take the liberty to mention that, in connection with the Royal Visit, we fondly hoped also that an announcement would be made, throwing open in some measure commissions in the Army to qualified Indians, especially after the Proclamation of the late King-Emperor in November 1908 recognising 'the valour and fidelity of my Indian troops' and expressing his 'high appreciation of their martial instincts, their splendid discipline and their faithful readiness for service.' My Lord, the martial talent in the country finds no scope under the present arrangements of the Government, who seem to consider so far that their duty is confined only to the intellectual and economic development of the people. They are absolutely excluded from all positions of trust and responsibility in the Army, and the highest places to which they can hope to rise are those of Subadar-Major and Risaldar-Major. Without referring to the military opinion on the subject, I may say that even Mr. Chirol, the author of *Indian Unrest*, favours a cautious scheme for opening careers to Indian in the Army. He says:—

'It is a strange anomaly that at a time when we have no hesitation in introducing Indians into our Executive Councils, those who serve the King-Emperor in the Indian Army can only rise to quite subordinate rank . . . Under the present conditions the Indian Army does not offer a career that can attract Indians of good position, though it is just among the landed aristocracy and gentry of India that military traditions are continued with the strongest traditions of loyalty. . . . Some of the best military opinion in India favours, I believe, an experimental scheme for the gradual promotion of Native officers, carefully selected and trained, to field rank in a certain number of regiments which would ultimately be entirely officered by Indians just in the same way as a certain number of regiments in the Egyptian Army have always been wholly officered by Egyptians.'

"My Lord, the question has been hanging fire since the time when His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was in command in this country. An Imperial Cadet Corps was established during the time of Lord Curzon and a training school started at Dehra Dun for the purpose. But so far, no steps have been taken to utilise the military talent in the country and give Indians commissions in the country. I trust that during the term of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who has been identified with India during the past forty years, we shall have the privilege of associating his name with this much-needed and long-delayed reform."

**The Hon'ble Raja of Partabgarh :** "My Lord, the year that is drawing to a close has been exceptionally fortunate for India and its teeming millions. It has been rendered auspicious and important by reason of the most gracious visit of our Sovereign and the Queen-Empress and the Coronation Durbar held at Delhi. This epoch-making event has evoked demonstrations of loyalty and devotion which stand unparalleled in the annals of this land. The impression which the Royal Visit has left upon the country will largely conduce to the social and material progress of its people. The generous announcements made at the grand Durbar have touched to the quick the heart of India and had the effect of further strengthening our ties of loyalty to the British throne. My Lord, we are fully cognizant of the manifold blessings which our country enjoys under the British rule, and our sense of devotion to the person of our King is inborn.

"The transfer of the capital to Delhi will be beneficial and advantageous to the public interest, and will facilitate to a very high degree inter-communications between the Imperial and Provincial Governments.

"We had bounteous crops, and good rains and can safely hope for a bright future.

"My Lord, it is a happy sign of the times that our attention is now being turned to industries other than agriculture. There is no doubt that agriculture has been our chief industry and will remain so, but depending, as we do, on the mercy of the monsoons in matters agricultural, the development of other industries will save millions of our poor countrymen from starvation in the years of bad monsoons.

"Education and sanitation are receiving our fullest attention and are chiefly the most crying needs at the present time. No country in the British Empire stands in greater need of sanitary reforms and progress than

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India. While other countries have adopted improved methods of sanitation, we have lagged behind. In the meantime several forces are at work which are decimating our population. There are, of course, clear indications that the Government of India have come to realize the gravity of the situation and have applied their serious thought to the solution of this problem. The creation of a Bacteriological Department, the inauguration of an Indian Research Fund and the holding of Sanitary Conferences—all point to the desire on the part of the Government to combat the evil. The allotment of 85 lakhs of rupees, of which 10 lakhs are earmarked for the Central Research Institute for works in public hygiene and for the establishment of a school of tropical medicine in Calcutta, is a practical proof of such desire. The money spent on research work is no doubt well spent. India is already so sorely smitten by plague and malaria that the appearance of a new disease such as yellow fever or kala-azar would indeed be a terrible misfortune. But above all we want a well-organised and properly trained sanitary staff. I would also venture to submit that in order to achieve more satisfactory results the people themselves should be made to realize the importance of domestic sanitation and hygiene, and a scheme should be discussed for the removal of the utter ignorance of sanitary laws which pervade the masses.

“My Lord, Your Excellency’s weighty pronouncement at the last Convocation of the Calcutta University in regard to the future policy of the Government in the matter of education, the liberal grant of 50 lakhs for truly popular education announced at the Royal Durbar, and the assurance to supplement the same in future years on a generous scale, are the surest guarantee of our national progress and are clear indications of the fact that some day, distant though it may be, ignorance and darkness in the country will give place to knowledge and light. Your Lordship’s recent visits to Calcutta hostels with those of last year have been immensely appreciated and admired as showing Your Excellency’s deep interest in the welfare of our rising generation. We can but express our profound gratitude for the enormous good to our land within the short space Your Lordship has been the controller of our destinies.

“My Lord, dealing with the Provincial interest, I beg to submit that the United Provinces want the protecting help of the Supreme Government in the matter of the development of their natural resources. They want a more liberal grant of money for irrigation works to protect areas which are liable to drought. But above all they want what is their due—a liberal grant of a fair share of their income to be spent on education and sanitation. Both these schemes which tend to the intellectual and physical development of the people have suffered for want of funds. The Government and the people both are unanimous in their demand of a just apportionment of land-revenue raised in those Provinces to bring them on a level of equality with the sister Provinces. I trust the Government of India will give their due consideration to the claims of the United Provinces.

“My Lord, on behalf of the Talukdars of Oudh, whose suffrages I have the honour to represent, I beg to express my sincere gratification and warm gratitude for Your Lordship’s assurance to respect their rights and maintain their privileges, and I, as their spokesman, beg to assure Your Excellency that in future, as in the past, they will continue to co-operate with the Government in all measures calculated to promote the well-being of the country.

“My Lord this year marks the close of the first triennial term for which this Council was constituted under the new scheme, and it is our special pride to look back to-day upon past years during which a new era has dawned upon the country due to the policy of harmony and conciliation enunciated by the Government of India. In conclusion I beg to congratulate the Hon’ble Finance Minister on the caution and foresight displayed by him in dealing with the financial problems of this country and on the surpluses he has been able to announce. The policy of economy which he has inaugurated must result in a substantial saving which can be well utilized



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in the realization to a full measure of Your Lordship's cherished desire, namely, the improvement of education and sanitation.

"Last but not the least I beg to express my sincere appreciation of the super-excellent services done to the finance of India by the Hon'ble Sir James Meston, whose richly deserved elevation to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the United Provinces has been hailed with feelings of unbounded joy all over the country by the Press and the public alike.

"My Lord, since it is the last sitting of the Council in this old capital of ours, I cannot help offering my sincere wishes for the growth and development of Calcutta under the fostering care of its new Governor, and at the same time hope that our new capital which has been created by the Royal Command at Delhi will very soon expand into a city worthy of the Imperial seat in India."

**The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :** "My Lord, I cordially join the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in expressing our high appreciation of, and gratitude to, the Hon'ble Sir James Meston for all the assistance we have received from him in doing our work in this Council. If I may add anything to what has been said by him, it is only to give expression to the great satisfaction with which the appointment of the Hon'ble Member has been hailed in the United Provinces and the deep gratitude the people there feel to Your Excellency's Government for having given us so able, sympathetic and broad-minded a Lieutenant-Governor as the Hon'ble Member. We all join, my Lord, with the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in the hope that, after serving the full term of Lieutenant-Governorship in the United Provinces, Sir James Meston will come back to the Government of India as Finance Member to help forward the scheme of financial improvement on which he has laboured so long and so well. I also join in expressing our gratitude to the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson for all the assistance he has given us, and I trust that he will come back to us fully restored to health to promote the interests of India for the full term of his office.

"My Lord, the proposal that has been put forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale regarding the appointment of a Royal Commission to make a comprehensive examination of our financial position and to recommend a definite financial policy is one which deserves the earnest consideration and support of the Government. My Lord, I hope it will have that support, and that a Royal Commission will in due time be appointed to deal with the fundamental questions of finance which Mr. Gokhale has suggested. But even before that is done, and in the immediate present, there is one pressing financial reform to which I would invite Your Lordship's attention. Last year both the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and myself urged the necessity of revising the financial arrangements which exist between the Imperial and the Provincial Governments, and of putting them on a sound basis. It is undeniable that the unitary system which has prevailed so long has proved to be unsatisfactory in so far as the development of the Provinces is concerned. Under this system the Government of India have commandeered the resources of the entire country. They have made allotments in such measure as they have thought proper to the various Local Governments to meet Provincial needs. The allotments have been made on no principle. The result is that four-sevenths of the total revenues of the country are being spent on Imperial purposes and about three-sevenths only for Provincial purposes. Thus the Army Department and other objects which have been considered Imperial have received all the financial support which they have asked for, and have flourished; the needs of the people in matters which directly affect their welfare have not received half as much support as they deserved. This has sadly stood in the way of ameliorating the condition of the people. And so long as this system lasts, it will not be possible to do full justice to the most pressing popular requirements. The time has therefore come, I submit, when the Government of India should replace this unitary system by a federal system of Provincial finance. A great deal has been done to pave the way for this reform in the principles which have been laid down by the Government of India

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India to regulate financial settlements between the Government of India and the Local Governments. The first of these principles, as it was stated before the Royal Commission by the Secretary to the Government of India, is—

‘that the Government of India shall retain certain administrative services which it is inexpedient to hand over to Provincial Governments, and that they shall reserve the revenue from those services and such a share of the other public revenues as shall be adequate to the expenditure falling upon them.’

“Now, my Lord, the expenditure falling upon the Government of India is principally confined to the army and to a few services which are directly under it. This expenditure has reached such a high limit that it cannot require large additions from year to year. To meet this expenditure the Government of India might reserve to itself the revenue which is derived from what are called the Imperial heads, and to meet the expenditure, which would not be met in this manner, require the various Provincial Governments to make a rateable contribution based on a definite and reasonable principle. Having secured this, it should leave the whole income from heads which are at present shared to the Provincial Governments. Under the existing system, the Government of India has at its disposal an unduly large share of growing revenues, and the Provinces have consequently an inadequate share of such revenues at their command. The result is that after meeting Imperial expenditure the Government of India is in the unsatisfactory position of having large surpluses on its hands, and of finding it necessary to distribute them to the various Provinces. And this it does without any definite principle. The result of this has been that some of the Provinces have received a larger measure of support from the Government of India than other Provinces. My Province unfortunately has suffered most under this system, and I submit that, not only in the interest of the United Provinces, but in the interests of all the Provinces of India as a whole, it is necessary that the system should be altered. Not until this is done, my Lord, will there be sufficient funds available to Provincial Governments to devote to the systematic improvement of the condition of the people, and that condition loudly calls for more attention. We are all deeply thankful to Your Lordship's Government for the grants that have been made for education and sanitation. It has given us great satisfaction to know, my Lord, that these subjects are dear to Your Excellency's heart, and while we feel grateful to Your Lordship for what has been done in this direction, we hope and trust that more and more will be done as time goes on. But it is my conviction, my Lord, that, until the present system of financial arrangement is altered in the way suggested above, it will not be possible to secure adequate and continuous support to the cause of education and sanitation for all the various Provinces of India. The grants that have been made are large, and, being so, they have called forth much gratitude. But the needs of education and sanitation are very much larger. That the Government of India is fully alive to this fact is clear in all the utterances that have been made on its behalf, notably in the important utterance made by the Hon'ble Member for Education. He has said that the Government of India are profoundly dissatisfied with the present rate of the progress of education, and desire that that rate should be greatly accelerated; that they are determined to combat ignorance and to extend the blessing of education through the length and breadth of this ancient land; but this can only be done if adequate provision is made for funds to do so, and that provision will not be possible unless Local Governments are put in charge permanently of larger shares of growing revenues to be specially devoted to the purposes of education and sanitation. My Lord, I need not dwell upon the great need of doing more in both these directions. The progress that has been made and the progress which we hope will be made with the grants made for the purpose, is as nothing compared to what remains to be done. The people are sunk in ignorance, and they are exposed therefore to the evils of ignorance and its concomitants—poverty, misery and suffering. In the field of sanitation there is even a greater deal to be done, and we should not hope to see it done merely with the help of non-recurring grants made when a surplus in the hands of the Government of India make it possible for it to make such grants. No, my Lord, if the situation is to



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be materially improved, what is needed is that larger shares of growing revenues should be allotted to Provincial Governments, to spend regularly from year to year and independently of whether the Government of India may or may not have any surplus in their hands in any particular year. There is only one other suggestion which I beg to lay before Your Excellency and the Council to-day for ameliorating the condition of the people, and that is that the Government should strengthen the people a little to fight their own economic and social battles. As I have said before, it is no doubt a matter of deep thankfulness that the Government of India are finding more funds to help them to do so, and we hope that as time goes on the Government will find more and more funds for the purpose. But, my Lord, no amount of funds which may be found will bring about the desired result unless the co-operation of the people is enlisted in the cause both of education and sanitation. In order that this might be done, I beg to suggest the formation of village-panchayats throughout the country. That is a measure the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. At the present moment the people are in a very sorry plight. In numerous places they are exposed to malaria; in numerous villages they do not get even good water to drink; in all but a few places there is no system of drainage worth speaking of. It is not at all surprising that, living as they do, the people fall easy victims to plague, cholera and other devastating diseases, that they die so largely from preventable deaths. When we look at Calcutta, when we look at the head-quarters of Government in the different Provinces, and compare their sanitary condition with the condition of the villages around them in which the great bulk of the people dwell, we may well be reminded of the great duty we owe to the people to secure to them the elementary benefits of sanitation. It is high time that more should be done in that direction than is being done. I submit, my Lord, that one great effectual step which can be taken towards this end is to create village-panchayats, to give them some initiative, and to place some funds in their power and thus to help and encourage them to combat the evils of ignorance and insanitation. My Lord, the Government has been labouring in many directions to help the people; the Government has started Agricultural Banks; it has helped to organise Co-operative Credit Societies for the benefit of the agricultural classes, and much good has resulted from these societies. But the ignorance of the people proves to be a great difficulty at every step. If malaria is to be fought, if quinine is to be distributed, difficulty is experienced in doing it because of the ignorance of the people. The most elementary measures of sanitation are sometimes viewed with suspicion and distrust. All this will be avoided if there are constituted regular village-panchayats to which the elders of the village, men in whom the people of the village have confidence, should be appointed. It should be their duty to explain to the people the advantages of the measures which the Government may introduce for their benefit, and also to represent to the Government the needs of the people, and to adopt and carry out with the consent of the people such measures as may be needed to protect them from disease and to promote their welfare.

"My Lord, I beg to lay this humble suggestion for the consideration of the Government. I hope it will be considered and adopted to the great benefit of the people and the great advantage of good government."

The Hon'ble Raja of Kurupam said: "My Lord, it is my pleasant duty to congratulate the Hon'ble Finance Member and Your Excellency's Government on the very satisfactory Budget that he has placed before this Council. It records a year of phenomenal progress and prosperity. It shows that the revenue for the year was better by nearly  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions, that the expenditure has decreased by about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions, leaving a surplus of over  $2\frac{3}{4}$  millions. This is a result which, as the Hon'ble Finance Member points out in his very interesting speech, could not have been attained, but for the dramatic change in the seasonal outlook in the closing months of the past year, as if nature herself had resolved to make the year of the Royal visit one of unalloyed happiness for the rejoicing millions of this continent.

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[*Raja of Kurupam.*]

"It is my next duty to express for myself and on behalf of my constituency our deep thankfulness to the Government for the abolition of the proprietary village service cess. The discontinuance of this cess at this time is all the more gratifying to us in that it has been effected at a time when, according to the Hon'ble Finance Member, the position of the Government is not such as to justify any important remission of taxes. During the last five years, both in the local Council and in this Council, I have pointed out the unjustifiableness of continuing this cess; and I have no doubt that its abolition will be felt as a special boon by the zamindari raiyat and all those interested in his well-being.

"It is a matter for sincere gratification that the Government have been able to effect considerable economies in all directions, in pursuance of the assurance given by them when the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale brought forward his resolution about retrenchment in public expenditure; and the Government is to be congratulated on their having taken the Council into their confidence by giving an account of what they have been doing in this direction till now.

"The next remark I wish to make is about the very judicious way in which the Government have utilised the year's large surpluses. Education, medical and sanitary services, agriculture, have all received proper recognition. It is the policy definitely put forward by the Government with regard to the first of these, that is, education, which, I believe, will be most appreciated and approved by the country. It is a matter for sincere rejoicing that the Government have committed themselves to a policy of extending popular education. They have set apart the very handsome amount of ₹25 lakhs for next year for educational service. The public are really thankful to the Government for their liberality in this respect, though, of course, great headway has yet to be made in this direction. It is to be earnestly hoped that the Local Governments will make vigorous efforts to utilise the large sums placed at their disposal by carrying out a definite programme of educational and sanitary reform without needless delay. I cannot leave this subject without thanking the Hon'ble Finance Member for the very handsome compliment which he paid the other day to our much respected countryman, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, for his invaluable services in the cause of popular education. It is to be devoutly hoped that the vigorous extension of elementary education among the masses will speedily pave the way for the attainment of the object which my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, has so much at heart, by showing the benefits of education to the masses and thereby creating in them a real desire for it, by bringing into existence the kind of vernacular literature which will be most suitable to them, and by the creation of an adequate supply of trained teachers fitted for the responsible work of instructing the popular mind. I venture to add that the money which the Madras Government has proposed to spend on the establishment of Government model schools in our Presidency may be far more usefully spent on elementary education, in view of the extreme disfavour with which that scheme has been received by a large mass of enlightened opinion in the Presidency. It is very widely believed that the change in the educational policy of the Government, indicated by the establishment of expensive Government model schools, would be highly detrimental to indigenous educational endeavour.

"In this connection I cannot help bringing to the notice of the Government the very wide dissatisfaction prevalent in regard to the existing grant-in-aid code. I earnestly hope that nothing will be done to discourage private effort in education, and that, in respect of grants, the Government will adopt a more liberal policy. The mention of my Presidency leads me to make just one more remark in regard to the favour which the Government have shown to that Presidency in the present Budget. I am sure that the substantial grant of 25 lakhs in aid of the Madras water and drainage works, though but a third of what the Madras Corporation applied for, will go far to allay the feeling which has grown up among us that the claims of our Presidency do not receive the same recognition from the Government of India as those of other Provinces. I venture to express the hope that this grievance of the Southern Presidency



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will not long remain unredressed, that the needs and claims of its people, whose level headedness and steadfast loyalty have been so conspicuously displayed in the troubled times now happily past, will be more and more recognised, and that greater encouragement and better opportunities of advancement will be given to those who are bearing the burden of the administration in the Province.

"The announcement of the methods by which the cost of the new capital at Delhi is to be met, that is, partly from loans and partly from surplus revenues, has evoked some severe criticism both in and out of the Council. It has been said that the effect would be to conceal the real cost of the construction of the capital from the public. While it is difficult to understand how this concealment can be successfully effected, I fail to see how the method proposed can be otherwise than suitable and beneficial, as it will best enable the Government to adjust means to ends without serious interference with the normal course of expenditure in other directions. And I venture to add that, in my humble opinion, the idea that the future generations should alone be saddled with the cost of the new capital is, to say the least of it, not a very commendable one.

"My Lord, probably the most important legislative measure of the present session is the Co-operative Societies Bill which became law the other day. The alterations embodied in the new Act, such as the abolition of the statutory distinction between urban and rural societies, and the relaxation of certain restrictions imposed by the old Act, will largely facilitate the rapid spread of Co-operative Credit Societies, with the result of perceptibly raising the condition of the vast numbers of agriculturists and artisans of limited means throughout the country.

"My Lord, one word more and I have done. Dealing with the Budget Estimate for 1912-1913, the Hon'ble the Finance Member has told us that our prospects to-day are excellent and that we have every hope that the brightness of our outlook will continue. I am sure that every one in the Council will join in the hope that the coming year will fulfil these expectations, and that the next year's Budget will be as good a record of progress and prosperity as this year's has been."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar:** "My Lord, this is the second year since the constitution of the enlarged Legislative Councils on the new basis that this Council has the satisfaction of congratulating the Government and the Hon'ble the Finance Member on a prosperity budget. We have not only the opium windfall a second time due to unprecedentedly high prices obtained on restricted sales, but an improvement in revenue almost all round accompanied by substantial reductions in expenditure in very many directions. During the discussion on the Financial Statement I tendered my acknowledgments to Government for the efforts which are being made by the several departments to cut down unnecessary items. The emphatic and reassuring declaration made by Your Lordship in your speech of last year is bearing fruit.

"At the same time, my Lord, it is not superfluous to point out that while we have to be thankful for what has been accomplished, we must not forget that much still remains to be done and that we can never afford to relax our vigilance.

The close watch, scrutiny and control of the Head of the Government and of the Finance Department are as needed as ever, and the serious responsibility which lies on the members of this Council has ever to be borne in mind by them. With all the vigilant guard which was kept by the Hon'ble the Finance Member and his able and gifted lieutenant, whose well deserved elevation to the chiefship of a Province has given unalloyed pleasure to all his colleagues in this Council, the natural tendency of expenditure to increase and of waste and irregular payments to creep in could not be completely repressed. The Explanatory Memorandum and the Appropriation Report issued the other day afford some curious instances. The expenditure under the head 'General Administration in India,' which stood at 201 lakhs in 1908-09, now stands at 233 lakhs. The increase to 211 lakhs in 1910-11 is explained on

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the ground that additional expenditure was necessitated by the new Council schemes and the formation of a new Department of Education. Passing over 1911-12, when a crore and 20 lakhs were required, most of it in connection with the Royal visit, the Delhi Durbar and the Coronation celebrations, we find that the Budget for the coming year estimates these charges at 233 lakhs, that is, 22 lakhs more than the actuals of 1910-11. The greater part of it is explained, but still there remains a portion which seems avoidable expenditure. There would seem to be too frequent a resort to putting officers on special duty. The necessity of the propriety of many of these special appointments are not obvious to the uninitiated. I can understand the appointments made in connection with the Prices Inquiry; but very many of the others both in the Imperial Secretariat and in the Provinces stand in need of justification. Let us bear in mind how greatly strengthened our Secretariats have been. Not to go very far back; the expenditure under this head stood at 186 lakhs in 1906-07, that is, after the '*strengthening*' operations of the period of efficiency 1899 to 1905. In 1909-10 it advanced further by 13 lakhs. In 1910-11 came the formation of a new Department; and 1912-13 will see the creation of a new Province. With the great increase in the permanent staff which has taken place, appointments on special duty seem hardly to be called for. My Lord, there is a belief that some of these appointments are made simply to enable an officer to mark time till a suitable post is available for him. The matter is one which I hope will receive close examination from the Finance Department.

"Another quarter to which I might be permitted to direct the attention of the Council is the heading 'Cost of Collection.' The expenditure debitable to land-revenue has risen from 548 lakhs in 1908-09 to 595 lakhs in 1912-13—an increase of 47 lakhs. The land-revenue has increased from 3,080 lakhs to 3,344 lakhs. The proportion of the increase of expenditure is higher than that of the revenue. The increase in the coming year over last year would be a little less than 24 lakhs.

"Similarly, in the Police charges there is an increase of 69 lakhs. I bear in mind the explanation given in the memorandum of the Hon'ble Sir James Meston. But with the improvement that has taken place in the state of the country there is room for considerable reduction, especially in the strength of the Criminal Intelligence Department.

"My Lord, considerable saving in every department can be effected without impairing efficiency by a larger employment of indigenous agency. In the statement which was placed on the table of the Council on the 10th of January last we find that the number of Europeans and Eurasians in receipt of salaries of Rs. 500 a month and over was 4,466 in 1910, while there were only 924 Hindus and Muhammadans. With the great spread of education that has taken place a far larger number than 924 can certainly be found capable of holding those higher appointments.

"In connection with this matter, my Lord, I might be permitted to mention that the country hoped that on the occasion of the Royal Visit steps would be taken for throwing open the posts of commissioned officers in the army to Indians of loyalty, position and merit. I had advanced a similar request in the speech which I made at the time of the Budget discussion in 1902. This is a reform which has been long talked of. When His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was in this country at the head of the Bombay Army, His Royal Highness suggested the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. Nearly a quarter of a century has passed since then, and Indians are, so far as their position in the army is concerned, practically where they were then. The admission of selected Indians to higher posts in the army is demanded as much in the interest of economy as on the grounds of justice and high policy.

"There is one more subject to which I would with Your Lordship's permission briefly refer. The question of railway finance and railway working has of late attracted considerable attention from the commercial community and publicists. Last year I submitted some considerations to the Council on the subject. Since then, and especially during the last three months, railway



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matters have been very much to the front. This is a healthy sign. Railways occupy a most important place in our social economy. The capital liability on account of State railways at the end of March 1911 was something like 482 crores. The interest charges alone came to about 8½ crores, and little less than 5 crores were paid yearly in the shape of annuities for the purchase values of the company-made lines taken over by the State. Their value in affording protection from famine and in the development of interprovincial and outside trade is admitted to be of the utmost degree. Their expansion and improvement are recognised as eminently necessary by all thoughtful people. At the same time it is clearly perceived that expansion can in the first place safely proceed on a scale which is not beyond the capacity of the country, and that secondly it must be based on business principles and proceed on the reasonable certitude of the outlay proving remunerative in the not distant future. My Lord, it has become necessary to state these truisms because of the attempts that are being made by some outside commercial and financial magnates to accelerate construction without sufficient reference to the financial capabilities of the country and the remunerative character of the projects. In view of the pressure which is brought to bear upon Government, it is incumbent upon the non-official members of this Council as representing the interest of the permanent residents of the country to scrutinise every project from that point of view. The main lines have already been constructed. The expansion that is required is more in the direction of branch lines and feeder lines and of increasing the capacities of the arterial railways. The present traffic congestion emphasizes the immediate necessity of the last.

"While on one hand we have to guard ourselves against being hustled by outside pressure, we have on the other to meet the claims of various inland tracts and districts for being brought within easy reach of railway communications and of having their natural resources developed. The object can best be achieved by offering more liberal terms than the present to private enterprise, and encouraging the formation of companies with rupee capital. The claims of tracts exposed to visitations of famine can be adequately met from the funds available for protective railways out of the famine insurance grant.

"Irrespective of the branch and feeder lines for which private companies have received concessions and of the extensions which are being carried on on existing lines, there were more than 170 railways and tramways projected up to the end of December 1910. The remunerative capacity of some of these is open to question and of the rest varies greatly. Indeed, there are some big projects about which serious misgivings are entertained. If these projects were to be carried out by private companies on their own responsibility, Government might well trust them to take care of themselves. But for many of the larger projects the entire responsibility will fall on the State sooner or later if not from the beginning, and in regard to the majority of the rest some liability will have to be incurred. The determination of the railway programme is in the competence of Government; but it will be good for all if an opportunity is provided for the various interests in the country to urge their views in regard to the same.

"The necessity of a thorough discussion of the existing railway policy between the men of the people and the Government has become obvious in other directions also. Though the State owns the trunk lines, and the liability for their cost and maintenance is upon the country, it does not receive many of the advantages which results from unity of ownership. The Companies to whom the privilege of working the greater number of these lines is granted are in their desire to promote their individual interests—a natural enough procedure—carrying on competition in such a way as to nullify the main objects of State ownership. In the Resolution in regard to railway freights my friend the Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas Thackersey and I pointed out the hardships and the loss to which interprovincial trade and indigenous industries were subjected by the traffic arrangements of the rival way. I would here indicate merely some of the financial disadvantages resulting from the system.

"In the movement of goods it is not the shortest and most convenient route by which a Company where traffic originates despatches a consignment. It adopts that which would give it the longest lead, though this might be a

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circuitous one when a more direct and shorter route over another railway was available. Thus the most direct and shortest route for the coal of Raniganj or Jheria to Lahore is by the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway *via* Mogalserai and Saharanpur. But the East Indian Railway adopts the route *via* Allahabad and Delhi, which means an addition of 35 miles, and the Bengal-Nagpur Railway adopts the Bilaspur-Katni route though this involves transit over 380 additional miles. This means an additional haulage charge which is Rs. 2-2 per mile for a goods-train on the East Indian Railway and Rs. 2-5 on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. In addition to this extra burden which falls on the country there is an unnecessary longer employment of goods wagons on the East Indian Railway. One day for going and one for returning are lost in the case of each truck; on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway 18 to 19 days for the two journeys. There is a favourite complaint about the deficiency of the rolling stock, and here we have one of the causes which bring about shortage of waggons.

"Each Company regards itself as a separate unit and budgets for its requirement without reference to the fact that the rolling stock being the property of the State ought to constitute the common property of all. Crores have been spent in recent years in making additions to the rolling stock—the allotment in 1909-10 was 6½ crores, in 1910-11 466 lakhs. There is here a considerable scope for economy if we keep ever present before us the fact that the State is the owner of these railways.

"There are several other matters connected with railway finance and the more economic working of our railways which, though very important, cannot be satisfactorily treated without dealing with the general question of railway policy; and into this question it would not be convenient to go in a discussion on the Budget. I have left them out for a more suitable opportunity.

"Well, I have pointed out some of the shortcomings; but I must again give my testimony to the excellent work which has been done by the Railway Department of the Government."

**The Hon'ble Maung Mye:** "My Lord, this is the first session of the Imperial Legislative Council which I have had the honour of attending, and I do not want to take up much of the Council's time; but I have a few remarks to make on financial and educational matters connected with the Province which I have the good fortune to represent. Burma is a backward Province. It cries out for development. We have often heard people say that capitalists are unwilling to invest their capital in Burma for want of better communications and transport facilities, and in consequence the natural resources of the Province remain undeveloped. Burma has a very unfavourable financial settlement, and the grant of 20 lakhs for roads, though we are grateful for it, is a trifle compared to what we have lost on the financial settlement and is wholly inadequate for our requirements.

"The Government of India has given 60 lakhs of recurring grants and 65 lakhs of non-recurring grants for education and 85 lakhs for sanitation, agriculture and research—210 lakhs in all. Out of this we only get about 11 and Bengal about 56 lakhs.

"Money does not go so far in Burma as in India. If grants are distributed merely in proportion to population, we do not get enough. My people pay heavy taxes. We pay Rs. 5-4 per head of population; the United Provinces Rs. 2 and the two Bengals and Behar pay only Rs. 1-4 per head of population. We are paying more per head and should get more per head in return.

"Now I come to educational matters. We are anxious that a university should be established in Burma. We want this done particularly now that Calcutta is becoming a mere Provincial town. The Government of India is going away and the Beharis and Oorias are going to Patna. Then the Dacca University will take away the Eastern Bengalis. So only a very small number of Bengalis will be left to manage the Calcutta University.

"It is not proper that Burma should be under Calcutta any longer. We are a separate people and we want to develop on our own lines. It is true there are not many colleges in Burma, but there were only two colleges in



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Bombay when a university was started there. Local interest in higher education would grow very fast if we had a university of our own.

"There is a growing feeling in Burma that we do not come much under the notice of the Government of India and Burma suffers much from her geographical misfortune. Perhaps if the members of the Government visited Burma, they would understand the state of affairs better.

"We had hoped that the Royal boons would have done something for us, and while the Government of India is giving away lakhs of rupees to the other Provinces, it is only right and proper that Burma should also get a Royal boon of recurring and non-recurring grants for a university. Burma came late under the British Government. She wants more care and attention from the Government of India."

**The Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad :** "My Lord, I congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Minister for the excellent Budget he has presented to the Council, and also for the sympathetic tone which pervades his statements. The Budget is, if I may say so, in keeping with the spirit of the year, and it is a singular coincidence that the prosperity has been attained simultaneously with the august visit of Their Imperial Majesties, in India. My Lord, it is matter of immense pleasure and satisfaction that the unique and historical event which it was India's good fortune to witness at Delhi, I mean Their Imperial Majesties' Coronation Durbar, was a great success. The people of this country rejoice that they had an opportunity of manifesting their loyalty to their beloved Sovereign in person, and they feel sure that His Majesty has carried with him happy recollections and the gratitude of his Indian subjects.

"My Lord, since the Financial Statement has emerged from the committee stage, Field Marshal Sir William Nicholson's Committee has started for India to inquire into the Army expenditure of this country. I trust the Government of India will see the absolute necessity of allowing a wider scope to this Committee and afford all facilities for the thorough and exhaustive investigation into the finances of the Indian Army. Already great forces are at work against any possible reduction, but I sincerely hope that Your Excellency's Government will find the Nicholson Committee helpful in readjusting the military finances of this country.

"The next point, my Lord, is the congestion with railways. This has no doubt been very prejudicial to the trade as appears from the published proceedings both of the Bengal and Bombay Chambers of Commerce. Some have urged to bring out a traffic expert, while others want more money. The former seems a very reasonable request, and there is enough scope for a real expert on our railway systems. As for more funds, the Railway Budget showed a substantial lapse in the current year's allotments and no less than Rs. 152.24 lakhs is expected to lapse under the head 'Provision for the purchase of stores in England.' I have no doubt that the Hon'ble Member for the Commerce and Industry Department will be able to satisfy us on this point; but nevertheless it is clear that the Railway Board have not fully utilised the funds placed at their disposal.

"My Lord, I take this opportunity to acknowledge, on behalf of my Presidency, the educational and sanitary policies of Your Excellency's Government which has met with widespread approbation all over the country. It is our fervent hope that this policy will develop gradually and Your Excellency's name will be handed down to posterity as the promoter of an era of new life in India in which education and sanitation are destined to play a most important part."

**The Hon'ble Raja of Dighapatia :** "My Lord, before offering any remarks on the Budget, I beg respectfully to observe that the visit of Their Imperial Majesties to their Indian Empire has opened a new era for the people of this country and has practically driven away sedition and unrest from the soil. The memory of Their Imperial Majesties' visit to this city of ours will for ever be treasured up in the hearts of all men, women and children of this Province.

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"Now, turning to the Budget, I beg to offer my heartiest congratulations to the Finance Minister for the cheerful Budget he has been able to present before the Council this year. He very modestly calls it a 'no-change Budget,' but we look upon it as a Budget of benevolence, reflecting very great credit and thoughtfulness on the part of those who are responsible for it.

"No doubt we were looking forward to the remission of at least some of the taxes that were imposed the year before last in anticipation of the opium deficit—preferably that on petroleum, which affects the poorest in the land; yet we have nothing to complain of, nay, we are grateful to the Government of India for the manner in which the surplus from opium windfall has been distributed, and also for the large grants made for education out of the ordinary surplus.

"It will be noted with very great satisfaction that ever since the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson has taken charge of the portfolio of the Finance Department, military expenditure is steadily going down every year, while grants to education and sanitation are mounting up by leaps and bounds, and we have every reason to hope that they will go up still higher, as we have been assured by the Finance Minister himself that the amelioration of sanitation and the wide and comprehensive diffusion of education would form the chief feature of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty.

"I hope it will be possible for the Government of Bengal to devote a considerable portion of the money allotted for sanitation towards the improvement of the waterways and the supply of pure drinking water, wherever it may be necessary.

"Last year I mentioned about the necessity of constructing a railway line connecting Nattore, Rajshaye and Godagari. I must confess I am disappointed to find no provision for this railway has been made in the present Budget, though I have reasons to believe that this line is not altogether outside the programme. I would therefore urge the Government to include it at least in next year's Budget. I had occasion to point out in my Budget speeches of previous years that this line is an urgent necessity as far as Northern Bengal is concerned.

"In spite of the difficulties in the way, I would beg the Government of India to reconsider the question of the construction of the line between Dacca and Archa (a place opposite to Goalundo). As Dacca is going to be the second capital of the new Presidency of Bengal and the seat of the Provincial Government for about two months in the year, it would be easily seen how very necessary this line will be in near future, specially when river navigation is getting more and more difficult at least in some parts of the year.

"It was widely expected that something would be done at the last Durbar to inaugurate the policy of granting commissions in the Indian Army to qualified scions of Indian Chiefs and Nobles, and naturally it came as a disappointment when no such announcement was made. I, therefore, venture to hope that, with a view to further retrenchment in the military expenditure without in any way materially impairing efficiency, something might be done in this direction.

"As one coming from Bengal, I cannot help feeling the deepest sorrow at the thought that this should be the last meeting of the Imperial Council in this historic chamber and in this historic city, which is intimately associated with the foundations of the British Empire in India, and without meaning any disrespect to any one I deplore the necessity for the change of capital."

**The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis:** "My Lord, the moral effect of Their Imperial Majesties' visit has far exceeded my anticipations of last year, thanks to Your Excellency's thoughtful and excellent arrangements at Delhi and elsewhere. The Royal Presence evoked an enthusiasm throughout the land which proved once for all that the heart of the nation was sound, and that the abnormal developments of the past six years were but passing phases of an artificial movement wholly foreign to the genius of the people. We owe it to our beloved Sovereign that seditious troubles are at an end, and we cheerfully and thankfully lay to our heart the message of hope which His Imperial Majesty



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has so considerably communicated to us. The boons announced at Delhi, and the substantial grant for the promotion of education and the annual stipends to scholars, so characteristic of the King-Emperor, give point to that message; they lay solid foundations for the intellectual and moral progress of the people.

"My Lord, from the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's reply to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's question about the details of the Durbar grant of 50 lakhs for the support of education, it appears that, out of the 45 lakhs proposed to be distributed at once, technical education and industrial education have between them only 2 lakhs, or less than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Even in this small grant the share of industrial education must be the lesser of the two. I am convinced more than ever that small industrial schools suited to local needs and conditions are of paramount importance to our material advancement. Through the operation of causes which we need not examine here, our village industries and the small industries of towns are prostrated; there is a general movement of the people from the villages to the towns for employment. Towns are bound to grow; concentration of population in towns is perhaps a necessary concomitant of modern civilisation. But the decadence of the villages and of village industries is an economic evil, especially in an agricultural country like India, which it is only meet Government should make an earnest effort to remedy. There is a pithy Indian saying, 'the stomach was made before the mind.' The indigenous industrial arts should be revived and developed as a solution of the difficulty of the empty stomach. I beg to acknowledge with thanks that a systematic effort is now being made in the Central Provinces to revive the cottage industries, and a sympathetic and energetic Director of Industries has been appointed. But Local Governments must necessarily depend to a large extent upon the Central Government for liberal subventions.

"My Lord, notwithstanding the strong pronouncement of policy made in Parliament by the Under Secretary of State on the occasion of the last discussion of the Indian Budget, we cannot abandon our faith in the efficacy and the absolute necessity of tariff protection for India. We must place before the Government our view of the case, and with my sense of British justice and Britain's genuine desire to consult the wishes of the Indian people in matters of policy also, I cannot believe that our prayers will always be unheeded by the Home Government, and that the future will not bring us the relief we so earnestly seek. In this connection I respectfully request Government to reconsider their decision about the maintenance of the excise-duty upon cotton-goods made in India. The duty should be suspended at least in seasons of stress.

"Speaking of agriculture, in view of the high price of agricultural cattle and their preservation, I beg to repeat my suggestion that the question demands consideration. Government sometime ago undertook a cattle survey as a preliminary to the consideration of this question; but we would like to know where the matter now stands.

"My Lord, irrigation has done much for agriculture. I am glad to note Government do not mean to slacken their pace in this direction. Light feeder railways which the Government is encouraging in certain parts have become popular in some Provinces and are likely to prove useful to the country in three ways. They help railway expansion, train the people in railway management, and attract their small savings for which they provide an excellent investment. In view of this consideration, I would request Government that better terms of guarantee will help this sort of enterprise still further.

"My Lord, I beg to thank Your Lordship for the recommendation you have made for the Legislative Council for our Province, and now I beg to associate myself with the appeal which the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhai has made to-day for the establishment of a teaching and residential university at Nagpur and the appointment of a fourth Judge in the Judicial Commissioner's Court. A teaching university will go a great way to ensure the intellectual progress of the Provincial people. The Indian

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public cordially echo the hope expressed by Your Excellency at the last Convocation of the Calcutta University 'that teaching and residential universities may be multiplied throughout India.' I have heard complaints of congestion of business in the Judicial Commissioner's Court, and it is desirable to have another Judge to work it off.

"My Lord, in the investigation which the Government proposes to make into the financial condition of the local bodies, I hope Government will be pleased to consider the advisability of sanctioning a longer term than is allowed at present for repayment of advances for sanitary improvement. Much could be done to help progress by the suggested change in the maximum period. The special grants for the Central Research Institute for work in public hygiene and a School of Tropical Medicine supply incontrovertible proof of the anxiety of this Government for the suppression of plague, malaria and other epidemics; but it must be frankly admitted that the bulk of the work in connection with sanitary improvement must be done by the local bodies. In this view the necessity of the change will be evident."

"My Lord, I cannot conclude without expressing the sorrow I feel on this occasion of our last meeting in this hall so full of historic memories. I happen to be the oldest Member of the Council, and the break in all our past associations here causes me pain. At the same time the severance of the direct connection of the Imperial Government with Calcutta is synchronous with the introduction of large reforms for which Bengal has clamoured long. The change in the status of the Provincial Government and the annulment of the Partition ought to placate public opinion in Bengal. Thanks are due to Your Excellency for pacifying public opinion in the matter. Lastly, my Lord, I beg to associate myself with what my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has said about Calcutta, the Hon'ble Sir James Meston and the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood-Wilson."

**The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu :** "My Lord, in congratulating the Hon'ble the Finance Minister on his Budget, I do not pay a merely customary tribute: we have had a large surplus and our revenues are being devoted in a much larger measure than before to purposes which will be fruitful of good to the people of India. I have neither the skill nor the ability to pursue my friend through the bewildering maze of figures, but the thread he has furnished in his introductory speech gives a clue which even a layman like myself may follow. It will be a matter of deep regret to me and to the people of Bengal that we shall miss in future his genial presence in our midst and cease to listen to a voice which will persuade us even against our better understanding."

"My Lord, I acknowledge with gratitude the large and liberal grants on education and sanitation, for they are both all-important. I shall not go into the enormous and appalling figures which represent the preventible death-rate of our country: very recently I had occasion to refer to the question, but surely in a population of 300 millions and in a continent extending from the Persian Gulf to the borders of China 4,129 hospitals and dispensaries, public and private, to meet the requirements of the civil and military population are none too many. Much remains to be done in the cause of sanitation, and though I sympathize to a very large extent with my friend Surgeon General Sir Charles Lukis in his despair to fight against mosquitos whose names are more terrible than their sting, I respectfully submit it ought not to be beyond the resources of science and civilization to wage a successful war with those insects on whose wings follow malaria, yellow fever, plague, sleeping sickness and kala-azar."

"In the brief space of time allotted to us for discussion on this occasion I pass on to a subject which to-day, now that we are meeting for the last time in this Council Chamber, is pressing on my mind. My Lord, only two years ago I was prevented in this very Council chamber from discussing the question of the partition of Bengal; but though I was silenced,



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the voice of my countrymen outside was not silenced, and the sense of injury and wrong rankled in their minds. The outward manifestation of public feeling was naturally growing less, but, what was worse, a deep seated sense of unredressed wrong was spreading. We felt that the Government of the day had failed to understand the problem: Would India have some ruler who would have the insight to feel and the courage to act? That was the question. My Lord, in our ancient mythology there is a story of a saintly woman being petrified for the sin which she committed unconsciously, and when she pleaded against the curse, it was said to her that she must wait until deliverance came from somebody who would be born hereafter. We, my Lord, like this petrified saintly woman of old, had to wait for that deliverance of ours. Then came Your Excellency's administration. We had at the head of affairs in India a fresh mind unaffected by bias and untinged by prejudice. There were difficulties in the way, difficulties created by lapse of time, and behind them all loomed the question of prestige. Then followed the announcement that His Imperial Majesty would hold the Coronation Durbar in India. We in India have always connected the celebration of such a great and auspicious event with some generous measure of public beneficence, and we felt a sort of vague hope that our King-Emperor, who had witnessed the distress in Bengal as the Prince of Wales, might do something to restore peace to our unhappy Province. It is no longer a secret, my Lord, that for the realisation of this hope I undertook last year a journey to England, impelled, may be, by the same unreasoning longing which in our country attracts from distant parts weary pilgrims seeking deliverance from fatal illness for a dear relative to some sacred shrine reputed to possess life-giving properties, a deliverance which, alas! the silent image seldom grants. My Lord, I do not for a moment profess that my visit has had any affect on the policy of Government; but it is some satisfaction to me and our people that I was able to place before the highest authority, so far as India is concerned, a presentment of the case from our point of view. My Lord, I am not one of those who would feel any exultation in the modification of the partition of Bengal, even if it had not been accompanied by measures which will have a far-reaching consequence on the destiny of my Province; but we Hindus of Bengal truly rejoice at the opportunities which will be again afforded to us to advance arm in arm with our Moslem brethren as fellow-workers and comrades, helping each other forward and onward. My Lord, in Your Excellency's presence, I feel some natural embarrassment in giving expression to the deep sense of gratitude we feel towards Your Lordship in having had the courage to undo what was an undoubted wrong. In doing so, Your Lordship has not only conferred a lasting benefit upon the Indian people, but has demonstrated to the world at large the greatness and might of British rule in India, that in the interests of justice it can rise above all petty considerations of prestige and even of settled facts. You have shown that British rule in India is compatible with the sentiment of self-respect in the people, and that it is not founded on the shifting foundations of power but on the solid bedrock of justice, and as time goes on and your great act comes to be viewed in its true perspective, your countrymen and ours will all alike honour a ruler who had taken such a prominent part in welding together the different parts of the Empire in bonds which will grow with time and not break under the strain of diverging interests. To quote the words of the Hon'ble Mr. Montagu: 'At last, and not too soon, a Viceroy has had the courage to state the trend of British policy in India and the lines on which England proposes to advance.'

• "My Lord, I cannot pass from this question of the readjustment of the boundaries of my Province without referring to some incidental matters connected with it. It has been said that Your Excellency's scheme about the proposed Dacca University will be likely to reproduce conditions against which the people of Bengal fought with such desperate and passionate energy. I am glad to see Your Lordship shaking your head against that proposition. It would be a pity indeed if it did so. My Lord, I hope I betray no confidence when I say that Your Excellency has been pleased to give us the assurance that no such thing shall happen, that the fear of a dialectic difference in

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Bengal being created need not be entertained and that the proposed university at Dacca would only embrace colleges within its municipal limits; that it will only be a teaching university; and that in matter of Provincial appointments to the public service, no question will arise either in East or West Bengal as between the claims of Dacca and the Calcutta Universities. These assurances of Your Excellency when widely known will dissipate the fears that were entertained at one time, and the latest pronouncement that nothing will be done until the Government of Bengal has been consulted will remove any lingering doubts that still hover round the appointment of a separate educational officer. My Lord, I do not grudge to my friends of Bihar and Orissa their good fortune getting a full fledged Provincial Government with an Executive Council. I am afraid my friends of Bihar resented the reference made to them by my Hon'ble friend the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, and they were telling me just now that my friend the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur owes his seat in this Council principally to the votes of the Bihar zamindars. That may be true or may not be correct. I do not know. But, my Lord, my friends of Bihar will no longer be voters in my Province. I may remind my friends of the story of the discarded wife which we had at one time heard in the eastern part of my Province. I will remind them of a poem which I learnt in my youth;

"No more thou comest with a lover's speed,  
My once beloved bride to see,  
Be she alive, or be she dead,  
I think her worth all the same to me."

"And now that Bihar has gone from us and her votes do not count, I believe my friends occupy pretty much the position that the girl did in this ballad. But I believe I shall not offend my brethren of Bihar if I say that this good fortune of theirs is due to their association with Bengal. Bihar was making rapid progress during the last ten years, and my belief is that her progress would have been surer and quicker if that association had lasted a little longer.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque :** "No."

**The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu :—**"My friend says 'No', but I do not wish to raise a controversy. If he is pleased, we have no reason to complain. We Bengalis wish them all success in their new career.

"But, my Lord, if we do not grudge to Bihar her good fortune, we may certainly grieve that, in the redistribution of Bengal that has followed the Royal announcement, the deep and abiding sentiment of Bengal that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be placed under one Government has not been given effect to. I believe in the hurry in which the scheme had necessarily to be worked out, this could not be done, and I feel sure that under Your Excellency's administration, after things have settled down, this question will be taken up and our legitimate grievances on this score removed. And now, my Lord as I am coming to a close, it will be idle to conceal that a feeling of great sadness comes over me. For I shall be the last member for Bengal to address this Council from the capital of my Province. Who knows, my Lord, what the future may have in store for us? Associations extending over a hundred and fifty years or more are not easily broken, and though no material harm may come to us, as I hope it will not, the people of Bengal will not cease to mourn, for many a long day, the loss of the diadem which was set upon the fair forehead of their beloved city. It has grown from a hamlet into the position of being the second city in the British Empire, and from its banks have spread the blessings of peace and prosperity over the British dominion in the East. Amidst the many losses that the change of capital will entail upon us none will be greater, none sadder, none more keenly felt than that we shall cease to welcome in our midst the representatives of the wealth and culture of all



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India, as members of this Imperial Council; for their presence even for a short time serves to extend the boundaries of our horizon and lift us out of the narrow limits of a Provincial life. It is with no light heart that we shall regard the loss of this invaluable privilege of coming into contact with the best minds in the Indian Empire. We shall also lose, my Lord, the beneficent presence of the Government of India; we shall lose the inestimable benefit which flows from personal contact with His Majesty's first representative in India, and for the moment, my Lord, we shall lose one whom we have come to regard as the greatest benefactor of our people. You are going, my Lord, to a seat redolent of memories of ancient greatness to which Calcutta can lay no claim. But, my Lord, we the people of Bengal shall always cling with love to our city enbosomed in the Ganges, whose water flows in their ceaseless task of pure ablutions round her radiant shores and nestled among foliage unrivalled even in India.

"I bid your Lordship, the members of your executive Council and my colleagues, official and non-official members of this Council, good bye and God-speed; and may British rule in India be as glorious and as brilliant in the future amidst its new surrounding as it has been in the past in this now historic city of ours.

"My Lord, I can say no more, and wish no better for the Government which has done for us so much in the past and from which, God willing, we expect much more in the future."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque:** "My Lord, I have no desire to make a speech, but I would be failing in my duty if I did not express the grateful thanks of the people of Bihar for the great privilege which has been bestowed upon them. Your Excellency has restored to us our forgotten individuality, raised our status and given us a new life. The name of Hardinge is not only being blessed by us of the present generation, but it will be remembered and blessed by our children and our children's children. It has now become possible for us to develop and work our own salvation on our own lines.

"My Lord, the temptation to follow my Hon'ble friend the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan in his sarcastic references to my Province is great, but for once I shall resist it. I can quite understand his bitter disappointment, as henceforth it will not be possible for any one but a Bihari to exploit the new Province, and the determining factor in questions affecting Bihar will be the voice of her own people without any officious interference from unsympathetic people who have no scruples to take her votes but when the time comes refuse to help her. I should like to know what the landholders of Bihar will have to say to-morrow about the speech of my Hon'ble friend. Well, it does not matter; we are very well able to take care of ourselves. My Hon'ble friend has characterised the grant of an Executive Council to Bihar as an extravagant luxury. Well, everything which is a necessity for Bengal becomes a luxury when given to some other Province. Jealousy and conceit could go no further.

"My Lord, once more I thank Your Lordship for the great boon you have conferred upon the people of Bihar."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:** "My Lord, under the rules in force for the discussion of the Financial Statement, the important points involved in it are discussed in the earlier stages, and they have already been so discussed this year. This last day's debate is now utilised for making some general observations, and for many years now the privilege has been extended to members to place before Government such views as cannot be urged by means of Resolutions. Naturally therefore a discussion of this kind is apt to be more or less rambling, but I trust that the same latitude will be conceded to me as to my colleagues to make a few general observations, especially with reference to the remarks of my friend, the Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, whose speech, if I may say so without impertinence, was the most

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rambling that I have ever heard in my life. It had a great deal to do with things absolutely irrelevant and not at all germane to the Budget, or to the financial policy of the Government of India. It was, on the other hand, a curious compound and an extraordinary jumble of bad history, perverse geography, ill-assorted ethnography, and confused topography—coupled with a distorted outlook on current political problems. Speaking seriously, I think his speech will cause profound disappointment to the people of Bihar, especially to the landholders of that Province, who had voted for him as their representative in this Council. My esteemed friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Haque, has already replied very pertinently to his absolutely uncalled-for remarks about the Bihar Executive Council. The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur has evidently forgotten that Bihar has had an Executive Council since the inauguration of that institution in the Lower Provinces about eighteen months ago, and to have taken away that privilege from the Biharis would have inflicted a very grievous wrong upon them. The Maharaja Bahadur seems also to have failed to realise the fact that it is in the Executive Councils as now constituted that scope is given to such little talent as the zamindars possess, by their being appointed as members of these bodies. I therefore think that he should have welcomed this institution for Bihar instead of condemning it.

“One more remark, my Lord, which I desire to make is this. The Maharaja Bahadur has declared himself to be a strong supporter of the now totally discredited scheme of partition effected by Lord Curzon six years ago. I wish I could honestly congratulate the Maharaja upon his support to Lord Curzon, but I am sorry I cannot. That partition as effected constituted two divisions of Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa into one Province. The Maharaja seems to think that the new Province as now constituted is heterogeneous, but I would like to know if it is any more heterogeneous as it stands to-day than it was with the two Bengal divisions thrown in? But that is the way how the Maharaja with his clear vision looks at this question. I shall pass on now, my Lord, to associating myself with the Hon'ble Mr. Haque in offering to Your Excellency and to Your Excellency's Government the very best and sincerest thanks of the people of Bihar for what is really a Royal boon to them in the truest sense of the term. I think I echo the views of the Biharis in saying that no people are really so happy and glad as those of Bihar are, on account of the separation of their Province from Bengal, and for which they had been crying aloud for many years; but unfortunately the Government of Lord Curzon did not see their way to accept what was the only ideal scheme for the partition of the Lower Provinces. This has now been accepted by Your Lordship's Government, and my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Haque, therefore, has rightly said that Your Lordship's name will go down to posterity as the best benefactor of not only Bihar but of the whole country, for having brought about the memorable administrative changes announced by our King-Emperor.

“My Lord, one word on the question of our finances. As the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has pointed out, our financial condition at present requires very careful consideration, on account of the fact that very soon the opium-revenue will have disappeared from our resources. It is therefore, especially in view of the demands now being made, the very proper demands, which the Government have to some extent conceded, for education and sanitation, absolutely necessary that our finances should be properly husbanded and that so far as possible all such economy should be effected as can be done, without in any way diminishing the efficiency of our administration. For this purpose, my Lord, my humble submission is that two things are absolutely expedient: the wider employment of Indians in the public services and a careful handling of our military expenses and charges. In regard to the wider employment of my countrymen, I gave notices of two or three Resolutions to be moved in this Council. I was given to understand, however, that the Government of India were in communication with the Secretary of State on these subjects, and I therefore withdrew them. I do hope that, in due course, the Government will be able to inaugurate a policy which will be conducive to the much larger employment of Indians.



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It seems to me that the time has come when the Government of India should have a Royal Commission appointed to go into the whole question. The Public Service Commission made its recommendations nearly 25 years ago ; and these, unfortunately, were far from satisfactory. We have taken long strides since then, in almost all departments of human activity, and I think, my Lord, that the time is come when the Government of India may very properly ask the Government at home to institute a Royal Commission to go into the whole question of the larger employment of Indians, including that of the recruitment of the judiciary from the legal profession.

"Similarly, my Lord, in regard to the Army charges, the subject has been discussed in this Council time after time, and by none more ably than by our great leader Mr. Gokhale. It is well known that the large additions made to the cost of the Indian Army in 1885-86 were certainly due to the fear of a Russian invasion at the time. Now, thanks to the Anglo-Russian Convention, which was mainly brought about due to Your Lordship's influence, and for which we are all very grateful to Your Excellency, this fear of a Russian invasion of the country has certainly disappeared. In view, therefore, of our many necessary requirements now, and the larger demands for education and sanitation, I request the Government of India to consider favourably the question of, at any rate, reducing the cost of the Army to the extent of the additions made in 1885-86, which will I think result in a saving of some 3 crores. And in this connection I would like to say that last year I gave notice of a Resolution to be moved in this Council that the commissioned ranks in the Army should be thrown open to Indians. I was then informed that the matter was under the consideration of Government, and that it was likely His Majesty the King-Emperor would himself make an announcement at the Durbar on the subject, and it was in that view that I withdrew my Resolution. Well, my Lord, expression has been given to-day to the view of the non-official members on this subject by the Raja of Dighapatia, and I may frankly say that great disappointment has been caused in the country on account of that body not having been announced at the Durbar. I do sincerely hope that it will not be long before Your Lordship's Government will be able to make that long-looked for announcement.

"My Lord, one word about this being the last meeting of the session in Calcutta. I fear I am not so enthusiastic an admirer of Calcutta and of Bengal as my friend Mr. Gokhale. I follow him generally so implicitly that to me it is a real pleasure to find myself in disagreement with him on at least one question. He has pronounced this morning a glowing panegyric on this so-called beautiful city and on the scenery of Bengal. He said he had been for eleven winters in Bengal, and evidently he has come under the spell of this province and its metropolis—the city of palaces and of huts! He thinks so very highly of Bengal scenery, possibly because the Hon'ble Member comes from a part of the country which is very arid and very treeless—I mean the Dekkhan. Mr. Gokhale this morning blessed the administrative changes announced at the Durbar, on the ground that he thought they would be ultimately beneficial to the country as a whole, so far as he could foresee with the eye of faith and hope. It struck me that he must have surveyed the scenery of Bengal with the eye of faith also, or he could not have persuaded himself to speak as he did! But although I do not quite appreciate Bengal scenery to the extent Mr. Gokhale does, I think I may join him in saying that we are all sorry to go away from Calcutta, especially we of Bihar, who have been connected with it since 1765—a long association that—and we are certainly sorry to part with our Bengali friends. I fully reciprocate the sentiments of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Basu and I assure him that we are all sorry to part with Bengal. But I feel sure that we part as the best of friends, and shall continue to work together wholeheartedly for the welfare and the regeneration of our common motherland."

The Hon'ble Mr. Gates : "My Lord, I have only a few remarks to make with regard to the portion of the Budget which falls in my sphere. We are glad to see that the disappointing results of the Provincial Financial

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Settlement of Burma have been recognised, and we are grateful for the grant of 20 lakhs for communications. This grant can be spent, as could a much larger sum, to great advantage."

**The Hon'ble Sir James Meston:** "My Lord, the points of purely financial interest which have arisen in the course of the debate to-day are comparatively few. Even those which did emerge are either of so large and comprehensive a character that it would be impossible to do justice to them at the far-end of the Calcutta session, or they have been dealt with in a spirit of moderation which leaves the representatives of the Finance Department very little to say in reply. The speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, it is true, bristles with points both great and small, but the number and complexity of them and the pace at which he pressed them home reminded me, while he spoke, of one of his great prototypes who—

'seemed to be

Not one but all mankind's epitome ;'

and on looking through my notes at the topics which he raised, I shrink from the encyclopædic task of answering them. Sir Vithaldas Thackersey alluded at some length to the very technical question of the assessment of income-tax of textile mills and factories in Bombay. The Hon'ble gentleman complains that Bombay is at a disadvantage as compared with the mills in other Provinces, and he is particularly dissatisfied with an answer which the Government of India gave in a recent letter to the Bombay Millowners' Association to the effect that they were not prepared to standardise the methods of the assessment of income-tax on factories throughout India. The main reason for that is that the assessment and collection of income-tax are left, in this country, to the Local Governments within certain defined rules and limitations; and in view of the extraordinarily varying conditions of different parts of the country, I hardly see how it could be otherwise. The character of the buildings, their durability, the nature of the machinery, the local practices regarding depreciation, and half-a-dozen other factors, differ in different parts of India, and no cast-iron rules could well be laid down for regulating them. The Hon'ble Member, however, specifically complained of two points—first, that no depreciation was allowed on buildings in Bombay, whereas it is permitted elsewhere; and, second, that the depreciation allowances generally are less liberal in Bombay than they are in other parts of India. The first of these points I hardly think is quite exact, as the practice in Bombay has been, in assessing factory buildings, to allow for the actual cost of repairs and maintenance without specifying any rigid proportion of allowance on that account. The Local Government have, however, now, at the instance of the agitation recently got up by the Millowners' Association, agreed to accept a regular 2½ per cent. reduction instead of the actual cost of repairs. The second complaint made by Sir Vithaldas Thackersey was that Bombay pays more than Calcutta and Cawnpore, and he suggests that the Bombay payments be levelled down to their level. Another alternative, however, had presented itself already to the Government of India, and that was that Bombay should be left alone and that Cawnpore and Calcutta should be levelled up. I hope that that will be equally congenial to my Hon'ble friend. The whole of the Bombay correspondence has been sent to all the other Local Governments for consideration; and perhaps before my Hon'ble friend brings the Resolution which he threatens on the subject, he will find that his Association is not at a disadvantage as compared with the other parts of India.

"Before I sit down will Your Lordship permit me to express my sincere thanks for the kind and graceful thoughts which inspired the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in the things which he said about me personally and to add my thanks to the other Hon'ble Members who followed him. It has been a great pride and a great privilege to be a member of the first reformed Legislative Council in India during its whole triennial period, and that pride is enhanced in the case of all of us officials who have so served—it is enhanced a thousand-



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of our administration; and in the poverty of the Provincial Governments. All this had to be put to rights. Moderation had to be restored to our taxes. Money had to be furnished for our more backward departments, particularly for the improvement of the police. The finances of Local Governments had to be placed on a sounder and more stable basis. To these objects the energies of my predecessors were bent and much of their surplus revenues were dedicated. Meanwhile, a heavy toll was being taken on our revenues by the other incubus which I have mentioned. The defence of our frontier and the preparation of our Army for war formed the second outstanding feature of the period that I am reviewing. Lord Kitchener matured his scheme for the reorganization and redistribution of our military strength, and large sums of money were devoted to it for a series of years. Looking then at the position broadly, we see how two great cycles of expenditure filled the rich years between the famine of 1899 and the crisis of 1907. The sequels of our currency troubles provided one : our military anxieties provided the other. The two overlapped, and between them they swallowed up the fruits of our prosperity.

"The situation has now entirely changed; the dark shadows that lay over us have passed away. Our taxation has been lightened. The resources of Local Governments have been strengthened. Exchange is stable; and however much opinions may differ on points of detail, I believe that the basis of our currency policy is secured in public confidence. So also with our military dispositions. The momentous change that the Russian Agreement brought into our relations with our great Asiatic neighbour removed the menace on our frontier, and the rapid growth of our Army expenditure has now been checked and curtailed. At first these improvements were obscured by the financial collapse of 1907 and our slow recovery from its effects. But with care and economy, our finances are restored to health; the sky is clear so far as human eye can judge, and we are ready for our next advance. On what lines shall we proceed? For what goal shall we strive?

"To that question my answer is clear and unhesitating. We have secured the defence of the country. We have removed our great handicap in international trade. It is now our duty to turn all our energies to the uplifting of our people. To that task we are giving freely in the Budget which you have discussed to-day. Is it too much to hope that it will be the dominant policy of the coming years? The Finance Member told the Council of the hopes that rose in my mind when first I took charge of my high office. By those hopes I still abide, and in them I am more than ever confirmed. It is only by the spread of knowledge and by the resolute struggle against avoidable disease and death that India can rise among the nations. It is with this ideal that I sincerely trust our finances will remain in touch. The path will not always be smooth; funds cannot always be available, or enthusiasm always fervid. But we have made a beginning and we cannot now turn back.

"I will not say more on the subject of finance, but before this Council adjourns and its members return to their homes, there are some other matters upon which I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to say a few words to the members of my Legislative Council.

"When closing the Budget debate last year I dwelt on the approaching visit of Their Imperial Majesties the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress to India and the measures that we were already taking to ensure the success of their visit. Since then Their Imperial Majesties have come and after a happy time, full of mutual esteem and affection towards their Indian subjects, have returned to their English home. I will not dwell here upon the splendid pageants of the Coronation Durbar or the cordial reception granted to Their Majesties in Bombay and Calcutta, but I will only say that the expression I used last year, namely, a tidal wave of enthusiasm, was a very inadequate description of the stream of loyal enthusiasm and respectful reverence which broke through every restraint and flooded the country and all classes of the population with joy and gladness at the presence of Their Majesties amongst them. It was one only more proof of the undeniable fact that this vast Empire will yield to none in its loyalty and homage to the Throne.

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[The President.]

"The past year may well be described as an *annus mirabilis*, and owing to the beneficent administrative changes announced by the King-Emperor at Delhi, it will leave a lasting mark upon the history of India. We are confident that the beneficial results of those changes will eventually exceed all expectation, will introduce an era of peace and contentment, and will be to the advantage of better government and more efficient administration.

"In five days' time the three new Provinces will come into existence with complete full powers, with the exception of the Province of Bihar and Orissa, which will have to wait a few weeks, in accordance with law, for the creation of an Executive Council. All I wish to say to the three reconstituted Provinces is—'Go forward and prosper, and justify the policy of the Government of India by the maintenance of peace and order within your boundaries.' The tranquillity that happily prevails in Bengal as compared with the situation of the past few years, and even of a year ago, is already a striking and undeniable proof of the wisdom of the policy of the Government of India.

"As regards the transfer of the capital to Delhi, we fully realise the heavy responsibility entailed in the creation of a new Imperial city that shall be worthy of this Empire and which shall meet the requirements of a great capital, with a careful, but not too parsimonious supervision of the expenditure required to achieve a really satisfactory result. The creation of this new city is a matter in which I am taking, and shall continue to take, a very keen personal interest, and I have been in correspondence with Lord Crewe to send here as soon as possible the best sanitary engineer, town-planner, architect and landscape gardener that he can find to draw up plans for the new city. These will leave England in a few days' time. When acceptable plans have been prepared, the moment will arrive to call in architects to provide suitable designs and estimates for the new Government buildings, and these will require very careful selection and supervision. My own personal inclination is towards an Oriental style of architecture which should be in unison with local surroundings and with climatic conditions.

"I am well aware that criticisms have been levelled at the Government of India for having cited a fixed sum as the probable cost of the new capital, and that certain people have mentioned ten to fourteen millions as more likely to be expended than the more modest sum of four millions named by Government. I do not know upon what basis these estimates have been framed, but I can only regard them as exaggerated and fantastic. A little thought as to what land, Government buildings, roads, drainage, water-supply, etc., will at the outset be required for the new city, would convince any unbiassed person that the cost will approximate far more nearly to the Government estimate than to these exaggerated figures. For example, when I was in Delhi a few days ago, I saw what appeared to me a desirable site, and I made inquiry into the cost of acquiring a space of 30 square miles embracing this area. I found that it would cost, roughly speaking, 30 to 35 lakhs. Now, irresponsible critics have probably not taken into account the cheapness of land at Delhi, which after all is a well-known fact, although most of the land in question is covered with rich and luxuriant crops. Lime, bricks and splendid stone, the same as that used by the Moghal Emperors, are to be found absolutely on the spot, while the Mokrana marble quarries are only 200 miles distant on a direct line of railway. These facts naturally conduce to reduce expenditure, but they again have been probably ignored by our amiable critics. Then again I know that the Government buildings and civil station at Dacca cost under 70 lakhs; I know also that the estimated expenditure on a handsome scale for Government buildings and civil station at Bankipore is under a crore. Are we wrong therefore in considering that we can do the same at new Delhi on a much more magnificent scale for six crores? Government have of course no intention of themselves building private residences, shops, business premises, etc. On the other hand, they hope to obtain a good return for land sold to private individuals on reasonable terms for building leases. I therefore do not at all regret that the Government of India mentioned a fixed sum of 4 million sterling, i.e., six crores, as a probable cost of Delhi, which amount I have good reason to believe will, with proper care and super-



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vision, be in the end but little, if at all, exceeded by the time that the city is built. I hope that these facts may reassure people in India and serve to correct irresponsible statements made by interested persons.

"We all know the adage that Rome was not built in a day; and however hard we may work, it will take some years before the new city can be completed. In the meantime we are making arrangements for the temporary accommodation of the Government of India at Delhi during next cold weather and for the meeting there of this Council. Although I fear that owing to the fortune of war in the approaching electoral campaign some familiar friends and faces may be absent when we meet next year at Delhi, I trust that nobody of my Council will take too seriously to heart the grave forebodings of certain organs of the Press in which Delhi is described as being afflicted with the ten plagues of Egypt. I bid those who are timid to be stout of heart, to realise that, in spite of these blood-curdling stories, the death-rate of Delhi is no more than that of Lucknow, and to remember that Delhi is one of the towns of Northern India where the increase of population has during the last twenty years been both steady and progressive.

"I should now like to turn your thoughts for a few minutes to external affairs in which the interests of a very large and influential section of the community are sentimentally, though indirectly, affected. I do not wish to touch on the question of the war between Turkey and Italy beyond expressing our profound regret that hostilities should be in progress between two countries so friendly disposed towards Great Britain, and to add that I happen to know that His Majesty's Government have, in conjunction with other Powers, already taken steps to mediate with a view to securing an honourable peace. When, however, it appeared that there was a likelihood of hostilities being extended by the Italian naval forces to Jeddah and Yambo, I immediately drew the attention of His Majesty's Government to the very serious anxiety that would be created by an attack upon the ports leading to the holy cities of Islam, and by an interference with the pilgrim traffic to those ports. Representations were at once made to the Italian Government by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and satisfactory assurances were obtained.

"Having already mentioned the friendly disposition of Turkey towards Great Britain, I should like to inform the members of my Council of a significant incident which occurred only a few days ago, and of which I only learnt yesterday. The King received, on March 21st, a Special Mission from the Sultan of Turkey, consisting of the Turkish Ambassador, the Councillor and two Secretaries of the Turkish Embassy, and Reshid Bey (*Conseiller legiste*) of the Sublime Porte, who presented to His Majesty an autograph letter from the Sultan, and also the Order of the Hamedan-al-Osman and the Order of the Intiaz conferred on the King as a fresh proof of the Sultan's desire to strengthen the friendly relations and cordial ties now existing between the two Empires, and as a special mark of His Imperial Majesty's sincere friendship towards the King. The point is that the almost unprecedented distinction of the simultaneous conferment of these two Orders by the Sultan on His Majesty the King-Emperor is a striking act of confidence and goodwill which I am sure will be appreciated by the Muhammadans of India.

"In Persia the situation during the past two years has been as unsatisfactory as possible, in so far as British and Indian interests are concerned. In the south of Persia anarchy reigns supreme, the Persian Government having neither power nor authority, while order in the Gulf ports is maintained solely by the presence of the British East Indian Squadron in the Persian Gulf. British and Indian trade interests have suffered severe losses, many caravans having been robbed and the muleteers killed by tribesmen, so that no caravans can now proceed in safety along the main trade routes. Within only the last few days 150 Indian troops have had to be landed at Lingah to protect the Consulate and British and Indian lives and property from the threatened attack of 2,400 tribesmen. Six months ago, owing to an attack made upon the British Consulate at Shiraz, which I may add was very bravely repulsed by a small handful of Indian troops acting as Consular guards,

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it was decided to strengthen the escorts at Bushire, Shiraz and Ispahan, and four squadrons of the Central India Horse were sent to Persia for distribution between these towns and for the protection of British and Indian life and property. Shortly afterwards, when the British Consul at Shiraz was proceeding with a caravan with specie belonging to the Imperial Bank of Persia, escorted by half a squadron of the Central India Horse, they were attacked by the very men who were employed by the Persian Government as road guards, and they lost a few men killed and wounded, amongst the latter being the British Consul. The ordinary course under such circumstances would be to demand from the Persian Government the punishment of the offenders and reparation. Such a course under existing circumstances is not likely to produce much result, and the only alternative course would be to take the law into one's own hands and to send a punitive expedition. To act on such lines there would in my opinion be serious objections, since it might involve us in a situation in Southern Persia from which it might be difficult to extricate ourselves and which might eventually lead to the partition of Persia. Such a policy is entirely opposed to the views of the Government of India, whose hope and desire are that the integrity and independence of Persia may remain unimpaired. In view, however, of the necessity of looking after our own interests, we propose, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to instruct our Resident at Bushire to open negotiations with the tribes for the punishment of those who led the attack upon our convoy and for the proper guarding and security of the British and Indian caravans passing along the main trade routes of the south. This explanation of our policy will, I trust, dispel the fears of those who have imagined that we had leanings towards the partition of Persia with Russia. We have, I maintain, acted with much patience under circumstances of grave provocation, and our one hope is that we may yet see peace and order restored in Southern Persia in the near future.

"There are, I know, certain critics who declaim against the Anglo-Russian Agreement in connection with Persia, and ask of what use it can be in view of the presence of Russian troops in Northern Persia. To those critics I would reply that the fundamental basis of the Anglo-Russian Agreement is the independence and integrity of Persia; and so long as we are a signatory to that agreement, we are able to exercise a moral influence on our co-signatory, where we could not use material pressure. Russian troops have not entered Teheran, and within the last few weeks they have been withdrawn from Kasvin. It is my own conviction that, were this agreement not in force, the partition of Persia would already be an accomplished fact.

"Nearer home and actually on our north-east borders we have had to send a small punitive expedition against some tribes of Abors, who last spring murdered Mr. Williamson, an able young official, and his party under circumstances of great treachery. The remains of Mr. Williamson have been partly recovered, and some of those implicated in his murder have been captured. Advantage was taken of the presence of the expedition to survey a considerable tract of country which was absolutely unknown. The expedition having achieved its object is now returning home.

"Although the Government of India have been so fortunate as not to be engaged in any tribal war on the North-West Frontier during the past few years, we have quite recently been nearly in conflict with the Mahsuds. This tribe has during the past year suffered terribly from famine; and in order to give them employment and to save them from being driven by hunger to become a nuisance to their neighbours, we obtained authority from the Secretary of State to commence work on a proposed railway from Pezu to Tonk. Upon this line 2,500 Mahsuds have for some time been employed. A certain section of the tribe that was hostile has tried to create trouble and has destroyed one of our roads. This caused some unrest on the frontier, necessitating the moving up of troops to meet all eventualities. Happily the Mahsuds employed on the railway realised the advantages of their situation, drove off their fellow-tribesmen and repaired the road. I think we may congratulate ourselves that this small railway, of which the construction will be profitable in the future, has saved us from a tribal war on the frontier.



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"Now turning to affairs nearer home, and in particular to the work of my Legislative Council during the past session, I think that I may say with some pride and satisfaction that the debates that have taken place have reached a higher standard of statesmanship and efficiency than has ever been previously attained. They have taken place with a self-restraint and a mutual courtesy and good fellowship that might well be a model to all legislative bodies. Many Resolutions of various kinds have been brought forward by non-official members, and their views have been set forth with explicit clearness and much force. The fact that a large majority of these Resolutions have been negatived by Government is no reason for regarding these discussions as sterile or a waste of time. On the contrary, I regard them as most beneficial, since not only do they present an opportunity for the Government to hear the views of Hon'ble Members from every part of the country and thereby to acquire much useful local information, but they enable the Government to explain clearly their own views and to give publicity to their reasons for not acceding to them. Government must clearly be a moderating influence and restraining force advancing steadily on the path of reform and development with every care for the varied interests of the millions entrusted to their care. If all the Resolutions that were proposed were accepted and became law to-morrow, they would assuredly give place to others, probably of a more advanced type; and with progress at this rate India would soon be in the melting-pot. Consequently I see every advantage in the discussions that have taken place in this Council. They are in my opinion extremely educative, and will, I am sure, bear fruit in due season.

"With these few words I wish you all a happy return to your homes, and I declare this session closed.

The Council adjourned *sine die*.

W. H. VINCENT,

Secretary to the Government of India,  
Legislative Department.

CALCUTTA;

The 1st April 1912.

## APPENDIX.

FOR YEAR 1909-1910.		AREA OF RESERVED FORESTS.		
1	2	3	4	5
Province.	Total area of reserved forests.	Closed to all animals part of year (1909-1910).	Closed to browsers part of year (1909-1910).	Open to all animals all year (1909-1910).
Bengal	4,248	32	63	146
United Provinces	3,947	124	...	1,130
Punjab	1,844	267	70	631
Burma	25,691	4,026	6	1,029
Eastern Bengal and Assam.	6,483	...	...	729
Central Provinces	21,436	538	17	8,480
Coorg	520	341	...	...
North-West Frontier Province.	236	6	...	47
Ajmer	142	80	...	5
Baluchistan	289	18	...	58
Andamans	161	...	...	...
Madras	18,769	147	2	736
Bombay	14,104	1,127	9	2,800
Total	97,870	6,706	167	15,791



